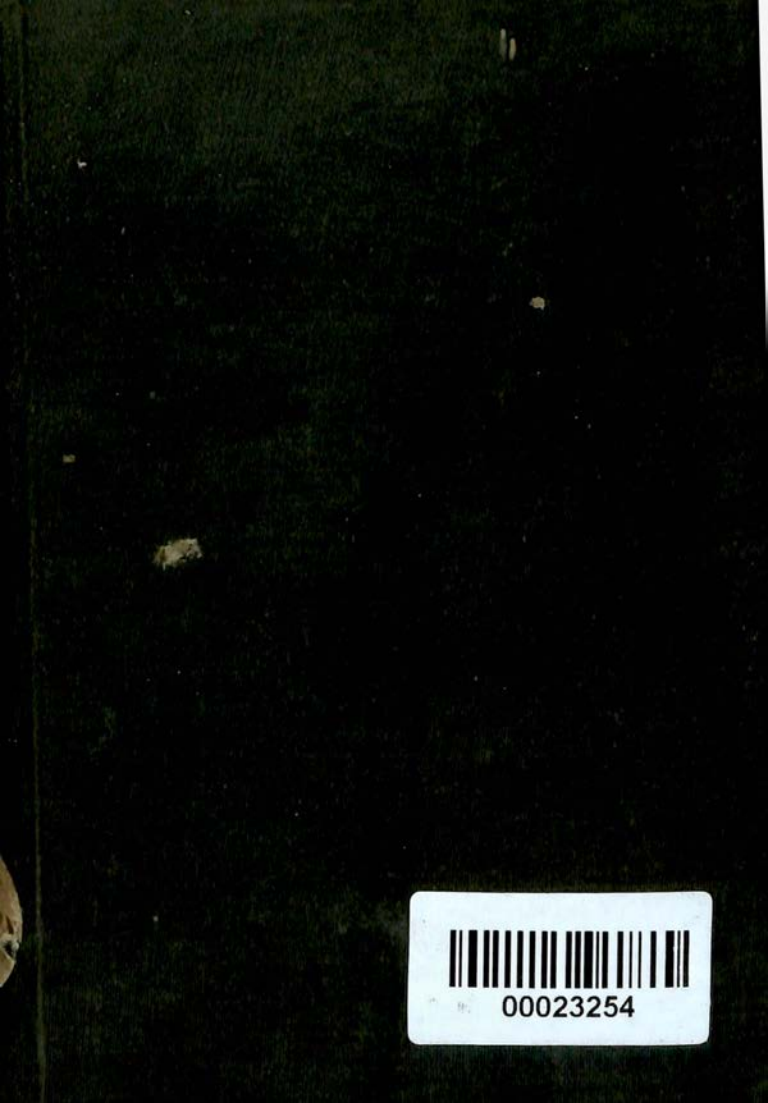
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MARY STUART.

THE

HISTORY OF MARY STUART,

FROM THE MURDER OF RICCIO UNTIL HER FLIGHT INTO ENGLAND.

BY

CLAUDE NAU, HER SECRETARY.

Now First Printed from the Original Manuscripts, with Illustrative Papers from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, and other Collections in Rome, edited, with Historical Preface,

BY

THE REV. JOSEPH STEVENSON, S.J.

Facsimiles, 8vo, Cloth, 18s.

MARY STUART:

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

FIRST EIGHTEEN YEARS OF HER LIFE,

PRINCIPALLY FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

23254

BY

THE REV. JOSEPH STEVENSON, S.J.

EDINBURGH: WILLIAM PATERSON.
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PREFACE.

WHEN Mary Stuart disembarked at Leith, in the month of August 1561, she was between eighteen and nineteen years of age. It is generally taken for granted that, at this period of life, the education of a woman is completed, that her tastes and habits are formed, and that the principles by which her future conduct will be regulated are fixed and established for good or evil. In one word: the life of the woman is but the continua-

tion of the life of the girl; and as the girl has been educated, so the woman will conduct herself.

Accepting, then, this canon of interpretation, we may ask, By whom was Mary Stuart's character formed? Who superintended her education? In what company did she spend the years of her childhood and youth? With the object of answering these questions, I have endeavoured to collect some details respecting the several individuals, among whom the young Queen spent the years of her childhood, and from whose precepts and example she must be presumed to have derived a large share of her moral, political and religious training. The result of my inquiry is given in the following pages.

In the formation of her character, her maternal relations are eminently conspicuous. First of all comes her noble mother, Mary, Queen-Dowager of Scotland, followed by Antoinette de Bourbon, her grandmother, and her uncles, the Duke and Cardinal of Guise. We shall find that a very inconsiderable portion only of Mary Stuart's youth was spent in the French Court; consequently that the evil teaching which she is said to have received from Catherine de Medicis rests upon no trustworthy authority. Some details respecting the progress of her education in its several departments will be read with interest.

An observant child often learns more wisdom from the experience of life than from books and masters; and in after years

Mary Stuart was taught many a hard lesson in the school of politics. She had to deal, as Queen of Scotland, with the affairs of a kingdom which, without doing it any injustice, might be characterised as one of the most turbulent in the whole of Europe. It was disorderly both in Church and State, both within and without, both at home and abroad. Political treachery was a recognised department in the Government. From the beginning of her career to its close, Mary was always surrounded by traitors. I do not wonder that in the end their treachery was successful; my wonder is, that it did not succeed at a much earlier period. More painful, perhaps, than this domestic treachery is it to find, that Mary had not one true friend who could or would speak the word

of reproof or warning. Her half-brother, Moray, was the tool of Elizabeth, her husband, Darnley, was a selfish traitor, and her Secretary of State, Lethington, took on himself the duties of that office that he might fathom her secrets and betray her policy to her enemies.

It would be interesting, as well as instructive, to inquire into Mary's theory of religious toleration, respecting which she evidently had her own opinions. Of her personal convictions there is no room for any doubt. "I will be plain with you," said she to Throckmorton, the English ambassador. "The religion which I profess I take to be the most acceptable to God; and, indeed, neither do I know, nor desire to know, any other. Constancy becometh all

folks well, and none better than princes, and such as have rule over realms, and specially in matters of religion. I have been brought up in this religion; and who might credit me in anything if I should show myself light in this case?"

I cannot conclude these introductory remarks without observing that, during the whole of Mary's residence in France, not one single censorious voice (as far as I know) was ever raised to the disparagement of her conduct as a maiden, a wife, or a widow.

THE YOUTH OF QUEEN MARY STUART.

CHAPTER I.

QUEEN MARY'S PARENTS—JAMES THE FIFTH AND MARY OF GUISE.

IN order that the reader may be in a position the more easily to grasp the connexion, and to follow the sequence of the events which are about to be narrated in the following pages, it is necessary that he should be made acquainted with the state of affairs in Scotland at the period when Mary Stuart ascended the throne of that kingdom.

From the death of James the Fourth upon the battlefield of Flodden (A.D. 1513), until the

union of the two realms in the person of James the Sixth (A.D. 1603), the national independence of Scotland was continually threatened from the southern bank of the Tweed. It was threatened sometimes by open invasion, sometimes by plausible fraud, sometimes by domestic treachery; sometimes by all of them combined. But under one or other of these forms, the attempt to bring Scotland into subjection to England was an idea which was never entirely abandoned.[1] And never did success seem to be nearer than when Scotland lay at the feet of England in the year 1513, crushed and bleeding, powerless and kingless. To those who did not know the temperament of the two nationalities, it appeared that the question of supremacy

[1] As early as 1523, Henry the Eighth proposed that the Chancellor of Scotland, James Beton, and certain other lords "should be tempted by promises, gifts, and good policy" to betray the national independence. Calig. B. vi. 349. In 1542 the same king published a volume bearing the title, "A declaration containing the just causes and considerations of this present war with the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the King's most royal majesty hath to the sovereignty of Scotland." In this volume he ventures to assert that "The kings of Scotts have always acknowledged the kings of England superior lords of the realm of Scotland, and have done homage and fealty for the same."

was now settled—settled once and for ever. Scotland could offer no further resistance. It seemed as if Henry had but to march to Edinburgh, and be crowned at Holyrood as he had been crowned at Westminster.

Had Henry made the attempt, he would probably have failed; but it is not easy to say why such an opportunity should have been disregarded by him. Perhaps some feeling of generosity lingered in his heart, and prevented him from completing the overthrow of his sister and her fatherless baby. Perhaps his intended conquest of France and his rivalry with Charles the Fifth for the time engrossed the whole of his energies. Perhaps, knowing the temperament of the people with whom he would have to deal, prudence counselled caution, and was heard. But be the causes what they may have been, it is certain that during the earlier years of his reign Henry seems to have been comparatively indifferent to the affairs of Scotland; and it was not until he had thrown off his allegiance to Rome, that he devoted himself in earnest to the subjugation of that kingdom. It

is important to trace some of the steps by which he attempted to effect his design, and the measures by which these attempts were defeated.

We may take the year 1535 as a convenient period at which to begin our survey. At that time Henry was at war with France, and he had ceased to acknowledge the authority of Rome.[1] These two facts reveal to us the motives by which he was actuated; and the ends which he hoped to accomplish in his future dealings with his nephew. Scotland must be separated from Papal France and unified with Protestant England. All who know anything of Henry's character know with what unscrupulous and undeviating resolution he pushed on to the end at which he wished to arrive. Of this spirit he was daily giving proofs which astonished and horrified all Europe. The divorce of Catherine of Aragon, the suppression of the monasteries, the execution of Anne Boleyn, Fisher, and More,

[1] When James took into his own hands the exercise of the royal authority in 1524, one of his earliest acts was to address a letter to the Pope, in which he professed his affectionate allegiance to the Holy See; and as circumstances required, he renewed this profession from time to time. See State Papers of Henry the Eighth, vol. iv. 166, 266, 402; vol. v. 14, 49, 168, 202.

and his assumption of the supremacy in matters ecclesiastical—these gave the world to understand the temper and principles of the Defender of the Faith. His intentions in regard to the future policy which he wished to see adopted in the Church and State of Scotland did not long remain a secret; for upon these points he intimated his pleasure with a blunt clearness which admitted of no mistake.

James the Fifth, King of Scotland, was in a difficulty. He would not submit, and he could not resist. The physical superiority of England was an admitted fact. The northern kingdom was poor, and its revenues at the best were scanty. Its military resources were inadequate to its defence. It had not recovered from the overthrow of Flodden. Its soldiers were brave individually, but collectively they were deficient in military training, and impatient of discipline. The whole range of its border, from Carlisle to Berwick, lay open to any rapid raid from its southern neighbour. The long minority of James had split the nobility into parties; and the feuds thus engendered were kept alive by

the gold of England. There was discord in the council chamber, and treason in the camp. One only remedy remained, and that was to seek the aid of France. It was natural that Scotland should do so, and it was no less natural that France should grant it. From the time of Edward the First the two nations had made common cause against the aggressions of England, and the bond had been cemented by frequent intermarriages.

Acting then in conformity with the traditions of his family, as well as his own personal feelings, James sought the hand of the Princess Madeline, the daughter of Francis the First.[1] Sailing from Leith on the 1st of September 1536, he landed at Dieppe on the 10th of that month, and was cordially welcomed, not only by the royal family, but by the entire nation. All were captivated by the handsome countenance, the gallant bearing, and the genial conversation of the young suitor. The preliminaries were soon arranged. The Papal Ambassador at

[1] A marriage with France had been contemplated as early as July 1533. See State Papers, iv. 657.

that time resident in the court informed His Holiness that the union was in every respect one which he could sanction, and from which happy results might naturally be expected. The betrothal took place (November 20) in the presence of the ambassadors of Venice, Portugal, and England, the last of whom addressed some uncourteous remarks to the Nuncio. Probably he felt that James had strengthened his position by the alliance, for France had forty thousand good soldiers in readiness—and these, joined by Scotland, could bring Henry to his senses, "by one way or other." The Nuncio handed to James the brief addressed to him by Pope Paul, and as he did so repeated aloud the whole of the message of His Holiness. In reply the King spoke well and to the point, professing himself a devoted servant of the See of Rome, as all his ancestors had been. His chaplain conversed at some length with the Scottish archbishop, and gave an amusing account of the steady resolution with which his royal master had rejected Henry's attempts to win him over to Anglicanism.[1]

[1] State Papers, v. 84, 85. In 1534 the ambassadors of the two

Although the marriage was solemnised upon the New Year's Day of 1537, it was not until the middle of the following May that the bride and bridegroom arrived at Leith. Their reception was most enthusiastic, for in this alliance James' subjects saw a barrier against the dreaded aggressions of England. But their joy was of brief duration. The health of the young queen, fragile from her childhood, could not endure the keen air of her adopted home in the north: and the brief Scottish summer which had witnessed the national rejoicings for her marriage, saw her laid with her husband's forefathers in the royal cemetery of Holyrood.[1]

The widowed monarch consulted at once his own inclinations, and the wishes of his people,

nations could not agree as to the authority of the Pope. See Otterburn's letter to Cromwell, 12 Dec., State Papers, 36, 37, and more especially the curious reports by Barlow upon the state of religion in Scotland in Cal. B. iii. 194.

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents, 21, 22, Teulet, i. 108. In the Inventory of the royal jewels of Scotland certain memorials of Queen Madeline are noticed; such as two little cups of gold, made for her "quhane scho was ane bairne," a basin of agate, an ewer of jasper, and a flagon of rock crystal, as also the sacred vessels and vestments for the altar, and the dresses which she brought with her to the country where she was so soon to find a grave. See Robertson's Inventories, Preface, 12.

by seeking a renewed alliance with France. He took to his second wife, Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville,[1] and by her he became the father of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland.

In neither of these marriages had James sought the advice or consulted the feelings of his imperious uncle; and not only was Henry offended, but he did not care to conceal his dissatisfaction. Politically each of these alliances had been unpalatable, but the second was personally offensive. He himself had been a suitor for the hand of the widowed Duchess; but she had laughingly rejected the advances of her corpulent admirer, that she might give her hand to a younger and gayer suitor. To a man of Henry's temperament such a slight as this was an offence not easily forgotten, and never forgiven.[2]

[1] She arrived at Crail, 10th June 1538.

[2] From a letter addressed to M. de Châtillon by Francis I. (23 Jan. 1538), we learn that at this time Henry, with his accustomed want of delicacy, pressed his marriage with the Duchess of Longueville, and that his suit was rejected, upon the plea that she had already been promised to the King of Scotland. See again under 8 May. At the same time Francis declared that he esteemed James as his own son. MS. Bodley, Carte 82. The terms of the marriage had been arranged by the future Cardinal Beton, who describes the duchess as "stark and well complex-

This second alliance was all the more disagreeable to Henry from another reason; in Mary of Guise the Papacy and France had an advocate ever ready not only to plead their claims, but also to caution her husband against the wicked designs which his uncle was planning against both. It was no secret that for long Henry had sought to strengthen his own influence in European politics by endeavouring to sever Scotland from France, and to unite her with England in a grand confederation against Rome. He had assumed, without sufficient evidence, that James would not dare to hold aloof when he should be formally invited to join an alliance the guiding spirit of which was to be the King of England. Both these designs, however, were impeded by his nephew's marriage with a daughter of the hated house of Guise. Yet Henry would not admit that he had been defeated. With that steadiness of purpose which forms such a marked element in his character, he made another attempt to convert James to the

ioned, and one who may endure travail." B. M. Addit. MS. 19, 401, fol. 39.

new creed which he had excogitated for himself and his people. The arguments which his envoy Sadler employed for the purpose were specious, and they had seduced many a wiser man than James. They appealed to his interest and his ambition. Henry reminded his young nephew that to cast off the usurped authority of the Pope would make him independent of all external authority; and to seize the abbey lands of his kingdom would make him rich. But James saw things from another point of view, and clung to the traditions of his family and his people with a quiet tenacity of purpose equal to that of his uncle. Unmoved by the arguments with which Henry had provided Sadler, he "still continued in his persuasion of the Bishop of Rome's holiness, and that he is the Vicar of Christ upon earth."[1] He refused to believe in the divine mission of Luther, and could not be brought to admit that he was wiser than Pope Leo and the great St Augustine.

[1] Sadler, i. 52. The English ambassador admitted at the same time that though James was "of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy as his only ministers," yet they were men of wit and policy, p. 47

Sadler now tried to move James through his avarice. The Scottish monasteries were rich and defenceless, and they might be plundered with impunity. Why should not the nephew do what the uncle had done? Sadler expressed the wish and desire of Henry, that, seeing the untruth and beastly living of the monks, James would apply himself by good and politic means to increase his revenues by taking of some of those religious houses as might best be spared. This argument meeting with little encouragement, Sadler appealed to the ambition of the young sovereign. He was reminded that his uncle was "well stricken in years," that his son Edward was, at best, a puny stripling, and that Mary and Elizabeth having been declared illegitimate, were incapacitated from succeeding to the throne of England. The power to nominate his successor was absolutely vested in the hands of Henry. He professed to have a kindly feeling towards James, who, he hoped, would not be so perverse as to ruin such brilliant prospects as were now opening before him. Let him but show a little consideration to the wishes of his

good uncle, and ere long he might rule the island from Cornwall to Caithness.

Sadler seems to have pleaded his master's cause with considerable skill, but James saw matters from a different point of view. His answer was full of sound sense and good feeling. He could not persuade himself, he said, that it was agreeable either to God's Word, or right reason, that he should pull down the houses of the religious in which Divine service had been maintained for many hundreds of years, because certain persons therein resident had forgotten the obligations of their sacred profession. Nor was there any reason why he should plunder them for his own private advantage, because, said he, with an honest pride, there was not an abbey in all Scotland which, if he needed assistance, would fail to supply him liberally and willingly. "God forbid," added he, "that if a few be not good, for them all the rest should be destroyed." Upon another occasion, he assured Henry that he had never found but faithful and true obedience in his kirkmen at all times; nor did they seek or attempt either jurisdiction or

privileges further than they have used since the first institution of the Kirk of Scotland, which, (he said) he might not upon his conscience alter nor change, out of the respect which he had to the honour and faith of God and Holy Church.[1]

In reference to the succession to the crown of England, James was equally unmoved by Sadler's tempting representations. He hoped that his good uncle would long sit upon the throne of England, and that after him his immediate issue would enjoy its undisturbed inheritance. As for himself, he was happy to live among his own people, and he had no desire to add to the extent of his dominions.[2]

It must have been with feelings of contemptuous wonder that Sadler heard the avowal of such sentiments as these. They appealed to principles which the English statesman had forgotten. And, to make the matter worse, these opinions were still held by many of the most influential of the Scottish people. The national

[1] James to Henry, 19th May 1541. State Papers, 188.

[2] The whole of Sadler's report, addressed to Henry (Feb. 1540) is instructive reading. It is printed in his State Papers, i. 17-45.

party was steadily gaining in power and numbers, while the influence of England was sensibly on the decline. It was a lamentable fact, but Sadler was compelled to admit it, "that among the nobles and gentlemen who were well given to the verity of Christ's Word and doctrine, he saw none who had any agility of wit, gravity, learning or experience to set forward the same; or to take in hand the direction of things."[1] The great argument which had been so conclusive in England—the invitation to take part in a scramble for the possessions of the Church—had not yet been heard across the Border, and the reforming nobles were slow to listen to any other. So when he looked around him, Sadler was compelled to admit to himself that his embassy was a failure. James was stupidly blind to his own interests, and further discussion with such a stubborn bigot was useless.

In this struggle of rival nationalities and conflicting theories, we cannot refrain from contrasting the principles which severally guided the uncle and the nephew. Henry is imperious and

[1] Sadler, i. 47.

arrogant, he makes no allowance for the feelings or convictions of another, and with him a difference of opinion becomes a personal insult. On the other hand, the quiet good sense and courteous moderation of James, both in regard to his principles and the language in which he clothed them, impress us in his favour; and we have no difficulty in accepting the decision of Sir Walter Scott, who regards James the Fifth as a sovereign who was worthy of having lived in a more enlightened age, and to have died a happier death.[1]

Thwarted for the time, but not defeated, Henry bethought himself of another mode of accomplishing the project which he had so much at heart. Towards the middle of the year 1542, he submitted to his Privy Council "a matter of marvellous great importance," on which he requested their opinion and advice. They describe it "as an overture touching the King of Scotts," adding that they would not have dared to discuss it, unless they had been expressly commanded to do so by their sovereign. The project on which

[1] Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler, 9.

Henry asked their opinion was certainly a startling one. He proposed to seize the Scottish King within his own dominions, and to remove him forcibly as a prisoner to Carlisle; but he would like to know beforehand what his Privy Council thought of his device.

The Lords of the Council met the scheme with a decided negative, and they state with remarkable clearness their reasons for so doing. The two realms, said they, were at peace, and Commissioners had recently been appointed for the amicable settlement of any questions which yet might happen to remain in dispute. And the plan in itself seemed to them to be impracticable. The forcible seizure of the King at Dumfries implied the presence there of a strong body of English cavalry, which could not cross the Border without attracting attention. The country between Dumfries and Carlisle was so thickly inhabited, that "it would be hard to bring him thence, specially alive." Again, if the project should fail, and some of the invaders be taken prisoners, and enforced to confess their purpose, Henry should consider the slander which

would grow of it. On the other side, if they should take the Scottish King, then one of two things might happen. Either he would be rescued, and the English made prisoners; or else in the tumult, he would be in danger of his life among the two parties. "And what peril and slander there is in either of these parts, your wisdom" (say the Privy Councillors to Henry) "can best consider."[1] Henry was thus compelled to abandon a project which he himself must have considered practicable as well as lawful, otherwise he would not have submitted it to the consideration of his Privy Council. The captivity of a Scottish sovereign in an English prison was no novel idea in the history of the two kingdoms.

Disappointed in the result of Sadler's mission, disappointed in his project of carrying off by force his nephew to imprisonment, perhaps to death, Henry had one unfailing consolation. He had unlimited confidence in his own powers of persuasion, in his learning, his logic, and his eloquence. He would now take the conversion

[1] State Papers of Henry the Eighth, vol. v. 204.

of James into his own hands, and he was sure to succeed. Full of this pleasing delusion, he suggested a personal conference, at which might be discussed the questions at issue between himself and this wilful Scotsman. James evaded the personal discussion of the question with his uncle, warned perhaps by having heard of the intended capture of Dumfries, or perhaps unwilling, under any circumstances, to trust himself into the hands of this unscrupulous tyrant. But Henry was not to be thwarted. Professing to believe that James had accepted his invitation to meet him at York in the September of the year 1541, he went thither, and remained for some days in that city awaiting the arrival of his nephew. James, however, did not appear, hindered, as he himself urged, "by great impediments and contrarities."[1] Henry was furious,

[1] State Papers, v. 199. Knox indeed asserts (Hist. i. 76, 77) that James had made "a full promise" to meet his uncle at York, which he afterwards "falsified." But this statement, written by Knox in 1566, is of little value as to events which occurred in 1541, and respecting which he had no special means of information. It appears, on the contrary, that Henry himself had violated the original agreement to meet at York. For, on 6th October 1541, the Bishop of Orkney, and others, informed James that they had met Henry's Commissioners, who

and resolved to punish his rebellious kinsman for his insubordination. He returned to London, and having completed his arrangements, he proclaimed war against Scotland.

James had attempted to avert the calamity which he saw to be impending; but Henry was deaf to his explanations and apologies. The declaration of war fell upon Scotland like a thunderbolt. James was not absolutely unprepared for the conflict; but he was conscious that he would engage in it at a hazardous disadvantage. The clergy, secular and regular, had already helped him with a generous hand, for in Henry they saw the enemy of the common faith. James was well provided with arms and munitions of war; he was strong in the affections of a loyal people, and he could depend upon the assistance of France. All these advantages, however, were of comparatively little value unless directed by the military skill of

wished that the interview between the kings should be held at London, Windsor, or Hampton Court. Henry could not come to York "without hurt of his person." They conclude thus: "and if we agree not at the returning of the bearer, lippen, sir, no other but all extremity and war incontinent." York, B. M. Addit. MS., 19, 401, fol. 51.

an experienced leader; and here he was helpless. Scotland did not possess a general whom she could entrust with the command of her army. Many of the nobles had been seduced from their allegiance by English gold; while of the others, some stood aloof from pride, some from jealousy, some from timidity. Hence sprung the doubt, the irresolution, the wavering counsels, which were the ruin of the country, and the death of its sovereign. Unable to depend upon the feudal aristocracy, he entrusted the command of his troops to Oliver Sinclair, a man of respectable origin, but generally disliked, and confessedly unfit for the responsible position in which he now found himself. Had James placed himself at the head of his army (and why he did not is an unsolved problem), the result would probably have been very different. Certainly the army would have stood by him to the death, for with the Southerns before them, domestic feuds were forgotten. But they scorned to be led by a man whom they considered a low-born adventurer, and the result was a disgraceful overthrow. When the mo-

ment of action came, the Scottish line hesitated, wavered, and then broke up into a disorderly rabble. Every trace of military discipline vanished; and all that remained of the Northern army was a confused mass of troopers, foot soldiers, and camp followers. Wildly struggling to escape from an ideal danger, they threw away their weapons, and fled for safety into the neighbouring morasses, in which many of them perished. Others were cut down without striking a blow, while no small number was seized by the moss-troopers of the neighbourhood, and sold at a cheap rate to the English victors. Thus a well-appointed army, which is said to have mustered nearly ten thousand fighting men, fled in such scared confusion before a few hundred of the enemy, that nearly sixty of the chief nobles of Scotland were taken prisoners, while scarce a dozen men-at-arms fell on either side. In a military point of view, Solway Moss was a disgraceful defeat; in a political sense, it was a crushing calamity. It renewed the sad memories connected with the loss of "the Flowers of the Forest." Each of these defeats

cost Scotland a king; but having said thus much the comparison ends, for Solway has nothing of the dignity which crowns the grand disaster of Flodden.[1].

When the intelligence of this ignominious overthrow reached James, who lingered in the vicinity of the battlefield, he hurried back to Edinburgh in a state of mind which would seem to have bordered upon distraction. The blow paralysed his intellect. Having given orders for some feeble preparations to be made for the defence of the capital, were it assailed by the victorious Southerns, he abandoned it to its fate and retired — should we say retreated?—into Fife, making no attempt to join the Queen, who at that time was at Linlithgow, and in daily expectation of her confinement. Had they met, it might have been well for him, for he could not but have profited by the sympathy, advice, and encouragement of that

[1] Knox admits (i. 81), that of the council which met at Holyrood in November, "some were heretics, some favourers of England, some friends of the Douglases, and so could there be none faithful to the King." Like his daughter Mary, James was surrounded by traitors, and had not a single trustworthy adviser.

noble woman. But he remained apart from her, and in his desolation was unable to throw off the impression that some great calamity was hanging over his head, from which escape was impossible. He became a prey to the most gloomy anticipations of evil; and believing that he was haunted by visions, his rest at nights forsook him. He was in terror of being assassinated by his nobles, following herein the destiny of his ancestor, King James the First. His condition is thus described by Bishop Leslie:[1]—"Being sore troubled both in spirit and in body, none were permitted to have access to him but only his secret and familiar servants. Perceiving the end of his life to approach, he said that he foresaw great trouble to come upon his realm of Scotland, for the pursuit which the King of England was able to make thereupon to have the same subject unto him, either by marriage or by other ways."

An attack of fever, brought on by this continued grief and anxiety, now supervened, and the King's illness became alarming. While he

[1] Leslie, pp. 166, 167.

lay thus in his palace at Falkland, sick at heart, broken down by disease, and (as was reported) "vexed with some unkindly medicine," he was told that the Queen had given birth to a daughter.[1] For a short time the intelligence roused him from his stupor, but it gave him no consolation; on the contrary, he drew from the sex of the child an omen of coming evil. "And so the King" (continues Leslie) "living all this time in the favour of fortune, in high honour, riches, and glory, and for noble acts and prudent politics worthy to be registered in the book of fortune, gave up and rendered his spirit into the hands of the Almighty God, where I doubt not he has sure portion of the joy that is prepared for those who shall sit at the right hand of our Saviour."[2]

[1] The exact date of Queen Mary's birth is settled beyond a doubt by herself in an autograph letter printed by Labanoff (vi. 68). She was born on the 8th of December, being the festival of the Conception of our Blessed Lady. The same date is given by Randolph in one of his letters. (R. O. Foreign, 13th Dec. 1563) and in the contemporary Diurnal, p. 25.

[2] Leslie, p. 167. Arran, in a letter addressed to Pope Paul III., gives 13th December as the date of James's decease. See Epp. Reg. Scott, 14th May 1543. The leaden coffin seen by Sibbald bore the date of the 14th. See Ruddiman's note to Buchanan, xiv. 61. The Diurnal also places it on the 14th December.

Several of the prominent features of Mary Stuart's character were inherited from her father, whom in many respects she seems closely to have resembled. To him she was indebted for the predominance of the emotional element over the reflective. From him she inherited "that quick and prompt wit, that high courage in great perils, doubtful affairs, and matters of weighty importance," for the exercise of which her after life afforded her so many sad opportunities. Like him "she was sober, moderate, honest, affable, and courteous." Like her father she was "ever sharp and quick with them who were spotted with pride and arrogance;" yet to this just severity there was "joined and annexed in her a certain merciful pity, which she did oftentimes show to such as had offended." From the family of the Stuarts Mary derived that love of poetry, music, and the fine arts for which nearly all its members have been conspicuous.[1] Like them she too had a ready sympathy with the poor and the suffering, to the tale of whose grief she always

[1] See Fordun, xvi. 28, 29 (pp. 504, 505). Leslie, p. 167.

yielded a patient hearing and a generous help.[1] In some respects the calmer judgment and more even temperament of Mary of Guise were reproduced in her daughter; yet in Mary Stuart the national peculiarities of the land of her birth were never obliterated; and to the last hour of her life she showed herself to be the representative of all that was "tender and true" in the royal race of Scotland.

The character of Mary of Guise has been treated in the spirit of generous kindness by men of all parties, with one remarkable exception. Under the influence of this affectionate and dutiful wife, James broke off from those discreditable connexions which he had formed in his youth, and of which the bitter fruits remained in the illegitimate children whom he bequeathed as an inheritance of evil to his kingdom. She so far overcome in others the

[1] Buchanan, XIV. lxii. Even this great maligner of Mary Stuart is compelled to admit, that the poor always found it easy to have an interview with her (p. 476). The same writer remarks of her father (p. 434), that he was easy of approach, that he was gentle in his answers, lenient and fair in the administration of justice, and moderate in inflicting punishment, so that all could perceive that he did it unwillingly.

prejudices which told against her as a woman and a foreigner, as to retain for nearly the twenty years of her widowhood a reputation unsullied by a single breath of scandal. She governed her daughter's kingdom with wisdom, and a gentle firmness which gained for her a general admiration. She possessed the rare tact of knowing how far it was safe to press an unpopular measure, and when it became an act of duty to pause. She knew when it was wise to yield, and how to gain by yielding. Her religious convictions were strong, and she did her best to maintain them, for the religion which she professed was the only form of faith recognised by the law of Scotland. With unwavering constancy and courage she maintained her daughter's authority against the crushing superiority of England; and even when compelled to submit to an invading army, one of her bitterest opponents was compelled to admit that she had the "heart of a man of war." She is a noble woman to the last, when the excitement of the strife is over, and pride and passion become silent. Feeling the near ap-

proach of death, she asked to speak with the leaders of the party from whom she had experienced so much unwise and unjust persecution. When they gathered round her bed in the castle of Edinburgh, the dying woman, with touching simplicity, asked them to forgive her if she had erred in the performance of what she considered to have been her duty. She reminded them of the youth and inexperience of her daughter, whom she recommended to their protection. As the daylight faded away the memory of the sunny sky of the land of her childhood rose before her, and she entreated the future councillors of Mary Stuart to maintain the ancient league of Scotland with France. And thus, at peace with all men, she who, according to the judgment of an eminent modern historian, was one of the best and wisest women of the age, died amidst the tears of her enemies. Rising superior to the prejudices of his profession, the Queen Dowager is described by another popular writer as "a woman of much discernment, and no less address, of great intrepidity and equal prudence; gentle and

humane without weakness, zealous for her religion without bigotry, and a lover of justice without rigour." To attempt to improve this eulogium would weaken its effect; so I leave the portrait as it was sketched by the master hand of a former Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

Here, however, we must retrace our steps. At the period with which we are now more immediately concerned, Mary of Guise is the young widow at Linlithgow, mourning over her dead husband, and speculating on the gloomy prospects of the fatherless child whose life had begun in the midst of so much sorrow.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BIRTH OF MARY STUART TO THE MURDER OF CARDINAL BETON.

THE condition of Scotland at the death of James the Fifth was alarming. It was at war with England, to the resources and animosity of which powerful kingdom it was no stranger. The crown had passed unexpectedly to a female and an infant, and no provision had been made by the deceased monarch for the government of the kingdom during a long minority. Religious differences had sprung up among the people, which had weakened that unity which until now had constituted their strength. Whose was the hand which should steer the crazy bark of

the State and the Church through these unknown dangers?

Two rival candidates stood forward to claim the government of the realm and the custody of the young Queen; and each represented a powerful body in the Constitution. But their principles were so divergent as almost to be hostile, and as they were nearly equally balanced, a civil war in Scotland seemed all but inevitable.

Fortunately this calamity was averted by the prompt action of one of the rival parties. James, Earl of Arran, claimed to be at once tutor to the person of Mary Stuart and Governor of the realm during her minority. His constitutional right was generally acknowledged, and he proceeded without delay or difficulty to exercise the duties of his double office.[1]

Arran was ill qualified to cope with the many difficulties of his new position, the dangers of which he failed to recognise. His character did not inspire confidence. He was timid and

[1] James was buried on the 8th of January 1543, and Arran was proclaimed Protector upon the 10th. Diurnal.

irresolute; he was easily influenced, and generally was led by the last speaker. He wanted self-will and self-confidence, and (as a result which might be anticipated) his personal courage was questionable. He had no fixed principles to guide him in politics; no experience as a soldier, and no firm convictions in religion.[1] Yet his appointment was undisputed for various reasons. He stood well with Henry, whose forbearance was of vital importance; he had joined, or might be induced to join, the party of the Reformation; and, more than all else, he claimed nothing beyond what had been secured to him by the law of the land.

The Earl of Arran, however, represented at best only a section of the people, and his appointment did not long remain unchallenged. It was

[1] As early as May 1543 we find Arran in conference with Henry the Eighth for a marriage between the Princess Elizabeth and James, Lord Hamilton, Arran's son. See State Papers, Henry the Eighth, vol. v. 284, 285. In the month of July following, a great council was held at St Andrews by the Cardinal, the Earls of Lennox, Argyle, Huntly, and Bothwell, Lord Home, and many others, who decided to oppose the Governor because he took no heed to them, but to new opinions of heresy. They were able to muster ten thousand men. See State Papers of Henry the Eighth, vol. v. 322, from Diurnal.

contested by James Beton, Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrews, who, though one of the clergy, was immeasurably Arran's superior in political experience, in knowledge of the world, and in firmness of charcter. This stirring churchman had gained no small political experience, having for some time past been a favoured minister with the deceased monarch; and he had much to recommend him in public opinion as the leader of a party. He represented with tact and eloquence the feelings of the vast majority of the people, especially upon those two burning questions which at this period agitated the soul of every native of Scotland. He warmly advocated those time-honoured principles, opposition to England, and allegiance to Rome. As a necessary consequence, he supported the traditional union with France, in the maintenance of which he saw the true secret of Scottish independence. In this feeling Beton carried with him the whole body of the clergy, a considerable proportion of the nobility, and by far the greater number of the people. The struggle between these two parties continued

until the death of the Cardinal, and the different stages through which it passed forms the subject of the present chapter.

It was not to be expected that Henry should look with indifference upon the progress of a conflict, in the result of which his interests were so deeply involved. He saw at a glance that the success of Beton would be fatal to his own schemes,—schemes which, under one form or another, he had been elaborating from the time when the father of the baby queen of Scotland was himself a baby. But seen in the light of recent events his plan stood before him, clear, distinct, and simple. To separate Scotland from France and to unite her with England as one realm; to crush out the Catholic faith, and to introduce Anglicanism; to gain possession of Queen Mary, and to make her the wife of his son Prince Edward,—these were some of the visions which floated through the busy brain of Henry. All of them were practicable, and some might have been accomplished without difficulty; but as usual with Henry, he blundered from want of tact and

temper, prudence and honesty, and his project ended in a series of miserable failures.

As soon as the result of the battle of Solway Moss was known, the more influential prisoners there captured were hurried off to London. The value of the prize, recognised from the first, rose still higher in the estimation of the Privy Council when they were made aware of the death of James. It afforded a golden opportunity for the first step in an inroad upon Scottish independence, and an attempt was made to impress the prisoners into the service of England. After having been suffered to taste for a few days of the discomforts of a prison life, they were invited to partake of the royal hospitality. After a pleasant entertainment, Henry proceeded to business by unfolding to them his ideas as to the future government of their country. He pointed out how desirable for both of the realms would be a union between their young queen and his own son Prince Edward, and how easy it would be to carry out this design at the present juncture. He invited them to join with him in this

auspicious work; and he promised that if they were conformable to his will, they would find him neither ungrateful nor ungenerous. The prisoners were not men of high principles; they were in Henry's power; and he was one of those persons whom it is not safe to oppose. Having accepted the bribe, they soon were set at liberty, and they returned homewards prepared to do the work for which they had sold themselves.

But the tidings of their treason had preceded them, and when they reached Scotland they were received with the contempt which they deserved. On their arrival in Edinburgh, these "English lords," as they were contemptuously styled by their countrymen, associated themselves with Arran's party. Thus reinforced, the Regent began to show some tokens of energy, and for a time all seemed as if it were going well with him. The marriage of the royal children became a probability, and might have been a certainty but for the arrogance of the King of England. He instructed Sir Ralph Sadler, his ambassador in Scotland, to demand that the

castles of Dumbarton, Edinburgh, St Andrews, Stirling, Dunbar, and Tantallon should be given up to him; he demanded that all leagues with France should be cancelled; that the child should be delivered up to him ("before she be ten years old at the furthest"), in order that she might be educated in England by such persons as he should appoint; and that the Regent and Council should pledge themselves to enter into no treaty without the King's consent first had to the same. As might have been expected, a violent opposition now arose. Matters became so perplexed that Sadler knew not what to think of them. In his opinion (and he knew the spirit of the country better than most men), the people would rather "suffer extremity than come to the obedience and subjection of England." He was assured by Sir George Douglas, one of Henry's most devoted adherents, that "if there be any motion to bring the government of this realm to the King of England, there is not so little a boy but he will hurl stones against it, and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the com-

mons universally will rather die than submit to it." [1]

We cannot wonder at the vehemence with which Henry was opposed when we consider the nature of the constitutional changes which he wished to introduce. He aimed at nothing less than the entire subjugation of the realm. His feudal supremacy—that against which the Scottish nation had fought from the days of Wallace and Bruce—was now to be accepted. Arran was to remain in office by Henry's mere sufferance, and in the humble capacity of his deputy. The Scottish castles and other strongholds were henceforth to be garrisoned by English troops and commanded by English officers. Scotland was to be divided into two provinces, of which the English over-lord reserved to himself the better half (that moiety, namely, which reached from the Tweed to the Forth), while the Highlands were to be given up to Arran. Beton was to be seized and hurried off to Berwick as a prisoner, and Sadler was to devise some plan for entrapping the Queen Dowager and

[1] State Papers, v. 271 ; Sadler, i. 70.

Mary Stuart, and handing them over to Henry Tudor. What Scotsman would have submitted to such terms as these?

Sadler was a devoted servant of Henry, and he was scandalised at this unexpected and unreasonable show of patriotism. He revenged himself and his master by expressing his opinion of the Scots as a nation. "In his opinion, they neither esteem the honour of their country, nor their own honesty, nor yet their duty to God, nor their love and charity to their Christian brethren; and he ends his letter by praying to be delivered "out and from the malice and danger of this rude and beastly nation, that hath no manner of respect nor consideration to honour nor honesty."[1]

Henry's frequent disappointments and failures had taught him the wisdom of patience, so he waited and "bided his time." Yet he was not idle. Of the Scottish lords some were won over to his party by increased bribes and promises; the opposition of others was silenced by the dread of future consequences; and there were

[1] State Papers, v. 335.

many who refused to make open cause with either party. They would wait; Protestant or Catholic, France or England, what cared they? In the meantime Sadler carried on his negotiations with so much skill and so little scruple that early in June 1543 the opposition of the Parliament seemed as if it had been overcome. The marriage was agreed to, and the terms were signed by the representatives of the two nations.

It would be a curious subject for speculation were it possible to ascertain how the future life of Mary Stuart would have passed had these plans of Henry been successful. Had she been educated in such a court as his and by such a guardian as he would have been, what would have been her creed and her character? One thing, however, appears to be certain. We cannot lament that Henry had no voice in directing the education of his grandniece. History proves that the paramour of Anne Boleyn was not a fitting person to form the mind or the morality of a respectable woman. Of his indifference to the decencies of married life, an illustration

occurs which is too closely connected with our subject, as well as too instructive, to be passed over in silence. The circumstances are the following:—

When Henry thought himself sure of obtaining the custody of the future Queen of Scotland, he busied himself in selecting from the ladies of his court such as (in his opinion) were best qualified to superintend her education. Sir Ralph Sadler, his ambassador in Scotland, was told that Lady Sadler might possibly be one of the favoured number. Doubtless the offer was meant as a high compliment, but Sir Ralph had the good sense and the decency to decline it. If we ask why, the answer shall be given by a well-known member of the College of Arms. "Sir Ralph Sadler," writes Lodge, "married a laundress in Cromwell's family, whose first husband, Matthew Barre, a tradesman of London, was then living; and by her Sadler had three sons and five daughters. Thomas Clifford of Tixall had in his possession (in 1806) an Act of Parliament for making legitimate the children of Sir Ralph Sadler by Ellen, his wife, who is therein stated

to have been the wife of Matthew Barre. It is dated December 9, 1554." [1]

Mary Stuart underwent many humiliations; but let us be thankful that she escaped the degradation of learning her morality from an adulteress, and her manners from a washer-woman.

During Sadler's mission to Edinburgh occurred an incident which brings Mary Stuart before us for the first time in her pure individuality. Little has hitherto been said about the baby queen of Scotland, for she has been merged in the national interests. But we are now invited to see her as she appears in the nursery at Linlithgow; and here we may throw together the scanty notices of her infancy which can be gleaned from the documents of the period.

Mary Stuart was born (as has already been mentioned) on 8th December 1542, in the royal palace of Linlithgow, and there the child and her mother remained during several months. The Parliament which met soon after the death of King James took care to provide for the

[1] Lodge's Illustrations, i. 140, ed. 1838.

safety of the royal infant, in whom were centred the fortunes of the kingdom. She was placed, as was natural, under the immediate charge of Mary of Guise; and the Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Livingstone, and Lindsay, along with Sir John Campbell of Calder, were nominated as the guardians of her person. The Lords of Parliament decided that her usual place of residence should be either in the palace of Linlithgow or the castle of Stirling, at the discretion of the Queen, guided by the advice of the Lord Governor and the Council. The date of the child's baptism is not recorded, but we may feel sure that it followed very shortly after her birth. Her nurse was named Janet Sinclair, the wife of John Kemp, whose faithful services she gratefully remembered and liberally rewarded.

Such was the condition of the royal household when, towards the end of March 1543, Sadler paid a visit to the Queen Dowager, who was then resident at Linlithgow. He had heard that the child was of a sickly constitution, and it was important that he should ascertain the

truth or the falsehood of a report which so nearly touched the succession to the throne. He remembered that two of her brothers had died in their infancy, and that she, Mary Stuart herself, had been seriously ill a few months previously. It concerned him to know the real state of the case, and this could not be done without a personal inspection.

We cannot do better than give his account of the visit in his own words. After such questions as more immediately concerned the Queen Mother had been discussed, the conversation naturally turned upon the health of the child. Judging by what he had heard from Arran, Sadler expected to have found a puny, undersized, and underfed baby, puling and puking. Quoth the mother, "The Governor said that she was not likely to live; but you shall see (quoth she), whether he saith true or not; and therewith she caused me to go with her to the chamber where the child was, and shewed her unto me, and also caused the nurse to unwrap her out of her clothes, that I might see her naked. I assure your majesty it is as

goodly a child as I have seen of her age, and as like to live, with the grace of God." [1]

It would contribute neither to the instruction nor the gratification of my readers were I to attempt to chronicle all the changes which took place in these miserable negotiations between Henry and the government of Scotland respecting the future disposal of the child. It may be said that the way in which the business was conducted resembled a game of chess, in which each move was watched with the most intense anxiety, not only by the two principals, but by all who were in any way interested in the final result. Apparently, England should have been the winner, and might have been so, but for the rashness with which her sovereign cast away his best chances of success. His arrogance and insolence completed the overthrow of all the advantages which he had gained, and the triumph of the national cause seemed all but complete. Cardinal Beton once more assumed the government of the realm. Arran deserted

[1] Sadler, i. 87, 88.

Henry's party, and consented to surrender the young Queen into the hands of the representatives of Scottish independence. The movement against Henry embraced men of all classes, and of every shade of politics. France showed her sympathy by the timely promise of a supply of stores and money. And that nothing might be wanting to confirm the national feeling, the young Queen was crowned at Stirling, and a council was formed which charged itself with the future administration of the kingdom. It was obvious to all the world that for the present at least, the King of England had been defeated and humbled by the superior tact and genius of a rival, and this rival was a churchman and a Cardinal.[1]

The national movement was yet further strengthened by the intelligence that its success was an object of solicitude to the Holy Father at Rome. Before the tidings of the calamity at Solway Moss had reached the Vatican,

[1] Sadler, i. 313. Lesley, 179. Epp. Reg. Scot. ii. 316, 318, 328. Diurnal, 28.

Pope Paul the Third encouraged James to resist the aggressions of Henry, lamented his inability to supply him with money for the purpose, and authorised him to employ a portion of the tithes of the kingdom in its defence.[1] In the month of March, the Patriarch of Aquilea, Marco Grimani, sent by His Holiness, had arrived in Paris on his way to Scotland, charged with the duty of collecting and administering these tithes for the general good of the nation. Several of the Patriarch's letters are still extant, and from them we obtain much trustworthy information as to the condition of the country at this period of its history.

The earliest despatch was written by Grimani at Paris on the 5th of June, and in it the Nuncio speaks with great anxiety as to the condition of Scotland. He derived his information from the report of an intelligent agent whom Beton had sent to ask for assistance from the King of France, and who had breakfasted with the writer in the morning of the day on which the letter was dated. Every-

[1] Raynaldi Annal., A.D. 1544, sec. 54.

where in Scotland was the fear of impending evil. The Queen was all but a prisoner, and the Cardinal had shut himself up in his castle of St Andrews. So divided were the nobles among themselves, that a civil war appeared all but inevitable. Although the party, at the head of which were the Queen and the Earl of Lennox, was the more powerful, yet the influence of the Governor was still considerable, supported as it was by England, and a large number of bad priests. The King of France had been requested by the Queen Dowager and Lennox to supply them with ships, artillery, stores, and money. This agent thought that the presence of the Nuncio in Scotland would be productive of no good result to the cause, and might be attended by danger to himself.

Henry was already aware of his arrival in Paris, and had threatened that if the Patriarch should happen to fall into his hands, it would not be agreeable to the Patriarch. But this would not deter him from doing his duty. [1]

[1] Secret Archives of the Vatican, Gall. Nunc. sub Paulo IV., vol. iv. p. 196.

Marco Grimani adhered to this resolution. After excommunicating the persons who had seized and imprisoned the Cardinal of St Andrews,[1] he made arrangements for his voyage into Scotland. He determined to embark in one of the four vessels which were to convey the munitions and artillery provided by the King of France, and these were to be escorted by eight ships of war, which would protect them during the voyage. So entirely was St George's Channel in the power of the English fleet, that this French expedition found it necessary to skirt round the west coast of Ireland. He left Paris about the middle of July, went by land to Orleans, sailed down the Loire to Nantes, and embarked at Brest. Of the details of his voyage thence into Scotland we know nothing,[2] several of his letters having perished. When next we meet him he is at Stirling, whence he writes to Dandino the

[1] Id. Letter dated 20th June, p. 211.

[2] We know however that, as usual, Henry's cruisers were on the alert to intercept the voyager, who probably owed his safety to the route which was chosen. See a letter from Paget to Hereford in Haynes, p. 6.

Papal Nuncio at the Court of France. The information which he has to give is important, but far from satisfactory. The realm is in such confusion, so divided, so full of heresy that, but for the interposition of God, it will soon become as bad as England. The Queen and the Cardinal have spent all their money in the common cause; and the clergy are unable to assist, for the fruits of their benefices have been seized by the Lutherans. A messenger is about to be sent to the King of France and the Pope to beg for aid, and the Cardinal does his best to support and enforce this entreaty for assistance.

On December the 3d a Parliament was held in Edinburgh, which was attended by the Patriarch, who seems to have expressed his opinions with considerable freedom. But he had by this time became aware—for he had now resided in Scotland for more than two months—that a gloomy future was before that kingdom, and he did not see how he could help to avert it. Money and men were needed, neither of which was forthcoming, and treason

and treachery were at work. He had every confidence in the courage and discretion of the Cardinal and the Queen Dowager, and as they did not require his assistance, he determined to return into France. "With Grimani's correspondence before us, we cannot but wonder that Scotland was able to hold out as long as she did against the powers which were united against her.[1] "

This continued opposition to his wishes surprised and irritated the English monarch, whose growing infirmities of mind and body had made him unfit to exercise the most ordinary degree of self-restraint. He now solaced himself by declaring war against James; and it was with difficulty that he could be dissuaded from sending his army into Scotland during the depth of the winter, where probably it would have perished from want of shelter and provisions. But he did not give his wrath time to cool. On Saturday, the 3d of May 1544, the inhabitants of Edinburgh saw, to their dismay,

[1] Copies of the letters of Grimani are among the Vatican Transcripts now deposited in the Public Record Office in London.

a fleet of two hundred sail cast anchor in the offing, and the banner of St George was unfolded in their sight. They were joined by an army which is estimated at about sixteen thousand troops. Their arrival was the signal for fire and sword, and all the unnamed horrors of a war of extermination. Panic-stricken and unprepared for defence, the citizens suffered the English soldiers and munitions to land without opposition. After a few meaningless skirmishes, the work of vengeance began in earnest. The instructions under which the Earl of Hertford acted are yet in existence, and they show the spirit in which the expedition was planned and executed. Henry ordered the leader of the army "to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it when you have sacked it and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lighted upon it for their falsehood and disloyalty. Do what you can" (continues this brutal paper) "out of hand, and without long tarrying, to beat down and overthrow the Castle,

sack Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can. Sack Leith, and burn and subvert it and all the rest, putting man, woman and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you. And this done, pass over to the Fifeland, and extend like extremities and destructions to all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach conveniently; not forgetting amongst all the rest to spoil and turn upside down the Cardinal's town of St Andrews, as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another; sparing no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the Cardinal." [1]

The English army executed these instructions with a thoroughness of purpose which must

[1] From the MS. Catalogue of the Hamilton Papers, printed by Tytler, iii. 365. See also Robertson's Hist. i. 107, ed. 1797. The English Privy Council thought these instructions "wise, manly, and discreet," and Henry gave "his most hearty thanks" for the burning of Edinburgh and the villages adjoining." Haynes, p. 33. The ferocity which pervades this document cannot be ascribed therefore to a sudden attack of anger or the result of some unexpected disappointment.

have satisfied even Henry's thirst for blood. When the work was done the army returned southwards. One division marched through the fertile Merse,[1] spreading desolation around it, and thereby earning the especial gratitude of the Privy Council. They burnt and destroyed Craigmillar Castle, Newbattle Abbey, Dalkeith, Leith, with the ships therein, Haddington, Preston, Dunbar, "and all the coast side." Such of the inhabitants as remained were unable to offer any opposition, and seem to have been put to death almost without resistance.

But Henry's vengeance was not yet glutted. A succession of inroads, extending from the beginning of July until the end of November, were carried out by the Lord Wharton, Sir Bryan Layton, and Sir Ralph Evers, which reduced the richly cultivated district, extending from the Tweed to the Forth, to the condition of a wilderness, dotted here and there with

[1] Buchanan (i. 510) describes this district as being one of the richest in Scotland. Lennox, the father of Darnley, was engaged in this expedition, in which, by Henry's orders, he employed two thousand Irish, "to be chosen out of the most wild and savage sort of them there." St. Pap. iii. 534.

blackened ruins. They burnt the houses and the corn; they drove off the sheep, horses, and cattle from the farmsteads, and they slaughtered the defenceless inhabitants. Bishop Leslie tells us that in these raids Sir Ralph Evers was especially notorious for his cruelty, "by spoiling and burning in diverse places, not sparing to burn wives and bairns in their houses without mercy, as was done at a place in the Merse called Broomhouse, and in sundry other places at the same time."[1]

I am reluctantly compelled to proceed with the catalogue of the sufferings of Scotland. In the autumn of the following year (1545), while the few husbandmen who survived were about to gather in their scanty harvest, the southern troopers were once more let loose upon them in order that the desolation of the land might be complete. The men died by the sword; the women and children from lack of bread. There is preserved among the Cecil papers at Hatfield

[1] For the details of these expeditions see Haynes, p. 43; Robertson, i. 109; Leslie, p. 187. The Addit. MS., 10, 110, f. 220, affords other illustrations.

House an official list of "The names of the fortresses, abbeys, frerchouses, market-towns, villages, towers and places burnt, razed and cast down by the command of the Earl of Hertford in the invasion into the realm of Scotland, between the 8th of September and the 23d of the same, 1545." With calm satisfaction it records the destruction of seven monasteries, sixteen castles, five market towns, two hundred and forty-three villages, thirteen mills, and three hospitals.[1]

Having before us the account of these savage raids (derived, be it remembered, from official documents), it is not difficult to understand the bitterness of the hatred which must have animated the Scottish borderer towards the southern invader. We can picture to ourselves the stern satisfaction with which "the souters of Selkirk" counted the eight hundred red crosses which marked the nationality of the men who lay stark and stiff on the battlefield of Ancrum Moor. Among them were the corpses of Sir

[1] Haynes, p. 52. Among these are the Abbeys of Kelso, Jedburgh, Dryburgh and Melrose.

Brian Layton and Sir Ralph Evers, who perhaps were too proud to accept the quarter which they had so often refused to others. At Ancrum Moor the English prisoners amounted to two thousand men,—an inadequate and tardy satisfaction for the defeat of Solway Moss, and yet a noble contrast to the spirit which had animated the invasion under Hertford.[1]

Besides his public feud with Scotland as a nation, Henry had a private feud with Beton as an individual. He hated the Cardinal for many reasons. He hated him because of his nationality, because of his religion, because he was a priest, because the Pope had conferred a high dignity upon him; because he could neither outwit him in diplomacy, nor tempt him with gold, nor intimidate him with threats. Yet there was one thing which he could do,—

[1] It has been already remarked that Evers and Layton had "burnt a house called Broomhouse, with man, woman, and beast; all that was therein was burnt to ashes." Herris's Memoirs, p. 11. When the invaders were defeated at Ancrum Moor, the Scottish women took part in the pursuit, and called out to their husbands and brothers to "remember Broomhouse." Tytler, iii. 30.

he could cause him to be murdered. He had murdered Cardinal Fisher, why not Cardinal Beton? Certainly it was an extreme measure, but in Henry's theology the end justified the means. Whether the idea was suggested to him by another, or whether it originated with himself is uncertain, and is of little importance. He made the deed his own by giving it his sanction—by encouraging others to execute it, and by knowingly and willingly bargaining about the price of blood.

This tragedy exercised a direct influence upon the whole history of Mary Stuart's future life. It is necessary therefore that we should examine it with some minuteness.

The plot for the murder of Beton underwent several modifications. In its earliest form it appears under the modest disguise of securing his person, in order to prevent him from doing further mischief. He was to be sent into England, where Henry would take care of him—how, it is not difficult to conjecture. The project in this disguise was discussed for some months between Sadler and the Privy

Council, but it made no progress and was abandoned.[1]

Abandoned, but only to make way for measures more definite and energetic. A candidate for the honour of murdering Beton presented himself in the person of the Laird of Brunston.

Alexander Crighton, Laird of Brunston, appears first as a trusted agent of the Cardinal, whose service, however, he left in order to find more congenial employment under the governor Arran. Thence, by an easy transition, he entered the household of the English Ambassador, to whom he soon made himself exceedingly useful. Traitor and spy, he furnished Sadler with intelligence derived from some of the retinue of his late master, whose good opinion he contrived to retain in the meantime. The information thus supplied by the laird was found to be so trustworthy and so important, that before long he sent his despatches direct to Henry himself; the receipt

[1] Sadler, i. 104, 106. The history of the whole of these plots has been traced with great care and acuteness by Tytler, iii. 365.

of whose "gentle letters" in reply to his own, Brunston acknowledged in terms of easy familiarity.

During the course of this correspondence, the Scottish serving man wrote a letter which, after having been read by the Marquis of Hertford, was intended to find its way into the hands of the English king. It related to the proposed assassination of the Cardinal. The bearer of this murderous epistle was a Scotchman named Wishart,[1] who was charged with additional information which was to be communicated verbally. The subject to which it related was too important to be reduced to writing. Wishart made no secret of the plot for the assassination, which at that time was

[1] Was this individual "the martyr Wishart?" It is affirmed by Tytler and the editor of Keith's History (i. 110), and denied by Laing (Works of John Knox, i. 53, 54), and several other of the Presbyterian writers, upon evidence which seems anything but satisfactory. Hertford's letter to Henry, dated 16th April 1544, is printed in the State Papers, v. 377. The answer of the Privy Council is given by Haynes, p. 32, by which it appears that Wishart (who is there described as having come from Brounston) had an interview with Henry, and conveyed his encouraging answer to the conspirators. It is dated 26th April 1544.

being matured. He had been sent, he said, to let Henry know that the Laird of Grange (late Treasurer of Scotland), the Master of Rothes (eldest son of the Earl of Rothes), and John Charteris, were willing to make an attempt upon the Cardinal as he was passing through Fife to St Andrews. They were ready either to apprehend him or kill him. His Majesty approved of the project, and he encouraged them to go on with it. He promised that if the assassins should be driven to take refuge in England after the doing of the deed, they should have all the protection they needed. Wishart was satisfied with the King's answer. From some reason to us unknown, this conspiracy came to nothing. We cannot question its reality, for the intentions of Brunston and the complicity of Henry rest upon evidence which it is impossible to dispute.

After some little delay the plot reappears, but in a more dignified form. Henry is still the presiding spirit of evil, the Cardinal is still the intended victim, but the character of the assassin is now occupied by a Scottish

nobleman. The English Privy Council, without a word of surprise or indignation, tells Hertford that "the King has lately seen certain letters sent from the Earl of Cassellis[1] unto Mr Sadler, the same containing an offer for the killing of the Cardinal, if His Majesty would have it done, and would promise, when done, a reward." Two questions were here submitted to Henry. In the first place, Did he wish that the Cardinal should be murdered? In the second place, What would he give for the doing of the deed?

In his reply, Henry did not put on any of the silly prudery which is assumed by inferior spirits. He admitted that he did not mislike the offer in itself. The removal of the Cardinal would be a good deed. But the answer to the second question required more careful delibera-

[1] The correspondence was begun by a letter from Cassellis to Henry, 20th April 1545, which led to a despatch from the Privy Council to Hertford, 30th May, after which the conspiracy proceeded as mentioned in the text. Cassellis had an annual pension of three hundred marks from Henry (Sadler, i. 78). He was the pupil of Buchanan, and the convert of Cranmer (Douglas's Peerage, i. 330), and seems to have imbibed the principles of these instructors.

tion. Henry did not wish to enter into terms by which he might be compromised. Let the deed be done, and let the doer trust to the royal generosity. Such a proposal did not suit the businesslike habits of the Earl of Cassellis. He was not startled by the magnitude of the crime. He did not shrink from committing a murder; but he objected to commit a murder without knowing beforehand what he would be paid for it. As neither of these two villains would trust the other, this second plot was a second failure. Henry had to chew the cud of his bitter fancy a little longer. Mordecai still sat at the king's gate, and Haman the Jew could find no rest.

The nobleman retires from the stage to make way once more for the Laird of Brunston. He renews the offer of his services at a reduced rate of payment, conscious apparently that he might be underbidden in the market. In discussing the matter with him, Sadler approaches it without coyness or reserve, it is simply a matter of business, and is dealt with as such. "I note" (says he) "that certain gentlemen, being your friends, have offered for a small sum

of money to take the Cardinal out of the way, that hath been the whole impediment and let of all good purposes here, provided that they may be sure to have the king their good lord, and that his Majesty would reward them for the same. I am of your opinion, and (as you write) think it to be an acceptable service to God to take him out of the way."[1] Sadler encourages the laird in this idea, which would be at once pleasing to God, and acceptable to the King of England. As to the question of the money, he and his friends may be assured that His Majesty will so liberally reward them that do him honest service, as they shall have good cause to be contented." It was a pretty theory, but Sadler and Henry were dealing with men as shrewd as themselves. Brunston wanted security for his own head, and payment for the commission of a capital crime. Henry would grant neither, so the negotiation ended. Once more the Cardinal seemed to have escaped; but the bloodhounds were still upon the track, and at length they were successful in running down their prey.

[1] Tytler, iii. 371; State Papers, v. 470.

Knox and his followers tell us that the energy with which Beton pursued the Reformers was the immediate cause of his assassination.[1] Probably they are correct. The Cardinal was a man of activity and decision, and he did with a will whatever he considered it his duty to do. He considered it his duty to curb that spirit of lawlessness which had now become so conspicuous among the members of the Congregation. Beton, as Archbishop of St Andrews, was bound to protect the faith which was the law of the land as well as the law of the Church. When he took on himself that office, he took not only its honours and its privileges, but also its duties and its obligations; and if some of these duties happen to be unpopular with certain sections of the community, the blame ought not to be visited upon him who enforces them. I do not here touch upon the religious question.

[1] Knox writes thus about Wishart: "After the death of this blessed martyr of God began the people, in plain speaking, to damn and detest the cruelty that was used. Yea, men of great birth, estimation and honour at open tables avowed that the blood of the said master George should be revenged, or else they should cost life for life," i. 171, 172.

It matters not to our present argument whether Beton was right or Wishart was right. All that Beton had to do in the matter was to decide whether a certain person accused of heresy was guilty of heresy, or not guilty. The evidence as recorded by Knox himself places the question beyond a doubt, and the judge gave his verdict according to the evidence. He could not do less, and he did no more. Heresy was a crime punishable by the State, and the civil magistrate pronounced the sentence of death.[1] Beton did not invent the punishment, it had been in active operation for centuries, and had never fallen into disuse. It may have been cruel it may have been unwise,—this is not the question. The Reformers knew the law, and knowing it, they chose to break it. They knew the punishment, and they hoped by intimidation to escape it. They would have had Beton perjure his conscience in order that Wishart might do an unlawful act; and because he would not connive at this overt sin, they murdered him.

[1] "Wishart," says Herries, "was convicted of heresy by the clergy, and by the civil justice was burned at a stake," p. 15.

But we must hasten on to the completion of this atrocious crime. Norman Leslie, along with certain gentlemen of the county of Fife, formed themselves into an association which boded no good to the Cardinal. It was a deliberate compact to commit a cold-blooded murder, openly avowed and widely known long before it was executed.[1] Early on the morning of the 29th of May 1546, the conspirators made themselves masters of the castle of St Andrews, within which Beton at that time resided. Having killed the only man who ventured to oppose them, and driven (with suspicious ease) the other inmates from the castle,[2] they knocked at the door of the Cardinal's bed-chamber, and demanded admission. After a feeble attempt at defence, and an ineffectual parley, Beton had the weakness to trust himself to the mercy or

[1] Wishart's execution took place on 1st March 1546, immediately after which Leslie and his companions vowed to revenge his death. Beton was murdered on 29th May. Three months therefore elapsed between the threat and its execution. See Knox, i. 172-174.

[2] The number of the inmates was 150 men, the number of the assailants was sixteen. Knox, p. 175.

the good faith[1] of his assailants. They were admitted, and, unmoved by the old man's entreaties, they murdered their unresisting victim. I refrain, for the sake of modesty, to record the indecent insult which they offered to the body while life could scarcely have been extinct. When the townspeople of St Andrews heard that the castle was in the hands of a band of armed insurgents, they hastened to the rescue of their Archbishop. But they came too late; for while they stood outside demanding admittance at the closed gate of the fortress, the corpse of the murdered prelate, whom the assassins had in the meantime clothed in his priestly vestments, was brought to the east blockhouse, and there hung over the wall in the sight of the horrified multitude.[2]

[1] Herries's Memoirs (p. 16) say, that "Norman, who was the Cardinal's very near kinsman, gave promise of safety, but, nevertheless of this oath, they murdered him instantly."

[2] Ciaconius (Vitæ Pontiff. ii. 1529, Rom. 1730) tells us, that in 1629 he was informed by F. Elphinston, Rector of the Scottish College in Rome, that the blood of the murdered man was still visible on the stones where the corpse had been exhibited; and that he, the rector, had seen it. Ciaconius also mentions the fact of the corpse having been dressed in pontificalibus, as also does D'Attichy, Flores Hist. Card. iii. 253, ed. 1660.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE MURDER OF CARDINAL BETON UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF QUEEN MARY IN FRANCE.

THE murder of Cardinal Beton produced a profound sensation throughout the whole of the Christian world. In itself it was a gigantic crime; but to Scotland it was something more, it was a political calamity. It was evident to all, that results must follow from it of which the significance upon the fortunes of Europe no one could, as yet, form a conjecture. One thing, however, was obvious; it was an immense gain to the party of the Reformation. It removed out of the way the only individual in Scotland whose talent and energy they had cause to fear, and they welcomed it as a great success. Although

most men regarded it as a revolting atrocity, yet the verdict as given by the Reformers was coupled with the limitation of "extenuating circumstances." Henry's party in England, and nearly the whole body of the Scottish Congregation, spoke and wrote of it as "a godly fact," and hailed the perpetrators as men who deserved well of their country. Knox permitted himself to describe the ghastly event in terms which he considered facetious, and which his admirers feel it difficult to explain or palliate.[1]

As if, however, to put an end to all questions on this point, and to show beyond a doubt what was their real character, Leslie and his followers to murder added not only robbery, but also various other crimes. Their first act was to seize the whole of the property of the murdered Cardinal which they found within the castle. Next came treason and rebellion against the legitimate government of the country. Entrenched behind the strong walls of St Andrews, and

[1] Knox, i. 178. We have the authority of Buchanan for affirming, that there were some persons who looked upon the murder as a "pulcherrimum facinus," and offered their congratulations to the murderer. See his Hist. xvi. sec. 42.

amply supplied with arms and stores provided by the late occupant, his murderers held it for several months in open defiance of the whole of Scotland. The residence of the primate was converted into a den of thieves and profligates, and became a favourite place of refuge for the most abandoned among the many lawless spirits of the land. Amongst these we have to number the great Reformer himself.[1] Knox asserts that he was driven to seek shelter within its walls, because he was weary of removing from place to place by reason of the persecution that came upon him by the Bishop of St Andrews. We cannot but remark, that he might have found rest in less discreditable company. The garrison of St Andrews became the terror of the whole neighbourhood. Safe behind the walls of that fortress, they dealt with the peaceable inhabitants of Fifeshire as with invaders and enemies. They first plundered the surrounding districts,

[1] Hist. i. 185. We can understand Knox's reserve as to the character of the persons with whom he now associated himself; but no such feeling influenced Buchanan, who mentions the profligacy and general misconduct of the garrison in terms of just indignation. See his Hist., xvi., sec. 43.

and then polluted them with their debauchery. Knox tells us that he tried to check these atrocities, but that he did not succeed. Yet he continued to associate with such companions as these for some considerable time, and for anything that we see to the contrary, he would willingly have remained much longer.[1] But justice at this period was slow of foot and weak of hand in Scotland. The castle was strongly fortified, well garrisoned, and bravely defended. It was open to the sea, and it had the encouragement and the material assistance of the English Government, by which it was regularly and liberally supplied with military stores and provisions.

The murder of Beton was the source of intense satisfaction to Henry. It afforded him much consolation in the midst of his bodily sufferings, for death was not far distant. The crime had cost him nothing; and he loved it all the better, because it was an act of domestic

[1] Knox tells us that he entered the castle shortly after the 10th of April 1547, and remained within it until it surrendered upon the last of July, nearly four months.

treachery. The murderers were men well worthy of his protection, and it occurred to him, that perhaps he might have further work for them to do.[1] There was a grim satisfaction, moreover, in turning Beton's favourite stronghold into an English garrison, and making it the first fruits of the conquest of Scotland, to which even yet the dying tyrant looked forward as a probability.

Arran, the Governor of Scotland, made some ineffectual attempts to gain possession of the castle, but the effort was beyond his strength. The Church did not fail in her duty, but the effort was productive of no important results.[2] In compliance with the requirements of the Canon Law, neither Mass nor Matins could be celebrated within the realm until the sacrilege of the murder had been atoned for. On the

[1] Tytler, iii. 371 ; State Papers, v. 470 ; Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 467. Among Henry's pensioners we find the Master of Rothes in the receipt of an annuity of £250. Henry Balnaves of Halhill had £125, and William Kirkaldy, the young Laird of Grange, sold himself at the same price. These men may have had many virtues, but assuredly patriotism was not one of the number.

[2] The clergy taxed themselves for four months, at the rate of £3000 monthly, to supply funds for the regaining of the castle. Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 472.

10th of June the murderers were cited to appear in Parliament, their lands and possessions were forfeited, and they themselves were declared to be guilty of high treason. To this summons they paid no attention. The attempt to reduce the fortress by siege and blockade signally failed, and for more than a year the rebellious garrison of St Andrews maintained possession of that stronghold.

During the brief remainder of his life it was a point of honour with Henry to support his own party in this struggle. "For the better defence of certain his friends and servants in Scotland against the malice of the adverse party," he gave directions that six ships of war should sail from the Thames. They were well furnished with stores and munitions for the reinforcement of St Andrews, and the garrison was encouraged to hold out by the promise of further assistance.[1] The ships were directed to take up

[1] He comforted "the gentlemen having the present keeping of the castle of St Andrews" (as he delicately styles them), by the promise that he will see them lack nothing, but will keep them with men and victuals. In short, he will take them, and all others in Scotland of the same sort, as his friends and servants, into his protection and maintenance. See R. O. Scot. ix. No. 9.

a position which commanded the entire approach to St Andrews, thus securing the rebels from the guns of the Scottish navy, and permitting them to receive the liberal supplies of food and ammunition provided by their friends in England. And in proof of his resolution to continue as he had begun, Henry wrote to the Governor of Scotland, urging him in strong terms to raise the siege "for the king's pleasure."[1]

It was clear to friend and foe alike that Scotland was overmatched in this prolonged conflict. France was the only quarter from which material help could be expected, and France had enough to do to hold her own. Mary of Guise pleaded earnestly and unceasingly for aid; and her application was ably seconded by her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the

[1] Henry had resolved to keep a garrison of one hundred and twenty men in the castle of St Andrews, an arrangement which the Protector and Privy Council of England were pleased to continue after his death. They also confirmed the annuities which he had granted to the Master of Rothes and the others concerned in the murder of the Cardinal. See Privy Council Book, Addit. MS. 14,024, fol. 5. Payment also was ordered for the wages of eighty footmen and forty horse soldiers within the castle; and stores were sent to the value of £1279. Id. fol. 29. Thus clearly did these traitors make common cause with Henry against the established government of their own country.

Cardinal. At last they were successful, and a powerful fleet of twenty-one galleys, provided with artillery of unusual range, appeared in the bay, and took up its position opposite the castle of St Andrews. The garrison of that stronghold was summoned to surrender; and on their refusal the French ships opened fire upon it. Knox (who was within the walls, and therefore an eye-witness of what he has recorded) tells us that the defenders replied with spirit, and that the fleet suffered severely. A fortnight afterward, the Governor of Scotland invested the castle on the side of the land, and the siege was now carried on in earnest. Some pieces of artillery, planted by the assailants upon the Abbey and the College of St Salvador, told with fatal effect upon the besieged. Still they held out bravely, and might have held out much longer had not the pest made its appearance among them. After having sustained a renewed cannonade, the fortress, despairing of relief, surrendered on the last day of July, and was delivered over to Leo Strozzi, the French admiral, by William Kirkaldy.

The lives of the garrison were secured to them, but they were not permitted to remain in Scotland. They were sent on board the French galleys, which conveyed them to Rouen. After a captivity of nineteen months, during which it is probably that he suffered many hardships, Knox regained his liberty, and returning to England, was appointed by the Privy Council to the office of preacher in the town of Berwick. His share in the bloody affair of St Andrews was no great crime in the eyes of the Government of England.

In the meantime, Henry the Eighth had passed to his account; and after the interval of a few weeks was followed by his rival, Francis the First. The death of these two sovereigns produced no sensible change in the feelings with which England and Scotland regarded each other. The party which now ruled under the name of Edward the Sixth, continued to pursue the policy which had guided his father. The traditionary recourse to mingled force and fraud, so conspicuous in the dealings of Henry with friend and foe alike, was not forgotten.

In March 1547, Patrick, Lord Gray, entered into an agreement with the Protector, that he would do all in his power that his mistress, the Queen of Scotland, should be delivered into the hands of the King's Majesty, "to the accomplishing and performing of the marriage between his Majesty and my sovereign lady and mistress, the Queen of Scotland."[1] There was always the same expressed anxiety for the union of the two crowns; but always upon the tacit understanding upon the side of England, that she should be the sovereign, and Scotland the vassal.[2] Had the terms upon which the Protector Somerset wished to treat been carried out, they would have been fatal to the national independence. After an ineffectual attempt at negotiation, the strife, which seemed for a moment to have been lulled into quiescence, broke out with renewed vigour, and continued to burn with increased energy.

[1] See Rymer, x. 143, and a document to the same effect on the following page.

[2] Upon more than one occasion the Protector offered to prove Edward's right to the superiority over Scotland by ancient records and documents. See Foreign Calendar, pp. 27, 122, 139.

England showed by the magnitude of her preparations against Scotland, that she was resolved upon striking a blow which should be final. The Governor recalled from Boulogne the greater portion of the English garrison of that town, which, with the forces already in the field, raised his army to the respectable figure of twenty-six thousand fighting men on foot. To these were added two thousand light cavalry, and four thousand Irish archers, exclusive of camp followers. A fleet of sixty-five ships accompanied this formidable expedition. It was well provided with artillery, and everything which might be needed for the invasion of an enemy's country. The ships were directed to skirt along the coast from Berwick northwards, and to act in concert with the English army. These were handled with much skill, and contributed very materially to the success of the expedition.[1]

[1] This is Patten's enumeration of the English army, which he accompanied. The dedication of his "Diary" (printed in 1549) is dated on the last day of June 1548. See Tanner's Bibl. p. 581. The English Government, though cramped for ready money, spent upon these cruel wars with Scotland, from 9th

On the other side, Scotland was not idle, for she recognised the importance of the issue which hung upon this final appeal to arms. Thirty thousand men, between sixteen and sixty years of age, obeyed the summons of the Fiery Cross, and marched out to meet the danger to which it invited them. One spirit animated the whole of this body, the spirit which nerved them to preserve at any price their national independence. But despite this fair front, the Scottish army contained within its ranks a fatal element of weakness. Individually the troops were brave; but collectively they were undisciplined. Every man among them had been accustomed to act for himself, without regard to the intentions or commands of another. They were admirable skirmishers, but for organised warfare they were worse than useless, for they were not always amenable to discipline or authority. The cavalry was inefficient in every respect, and utterly

September 1542 to 1st May 1550, the enormous sum of £3,491,471, 19s. 5d. See Privy Council Book of Edw. VI. MS. Harl., 343, fol. 86, 102, b.

unfitted to meet the broad-shouldered English man-at-arms, mounted upon his heavy Flemish charger. For her share France provided six ships of war, which from no fault of their own rendered very little assistance to their Scottish allies.

On Sunday, the 4th of September 1547, the advanced guard of the invading expedition set foot on Scottish ground, and on the following Sunday the hostile armies stood face to face at Pinkie Cleugh, near the little village of Musselburgh. With their usual and fatal impetuosity, the Scottish troops abandoned the commanding position in which they had deliberately entrenched themselves; and thus by their own act forfeited the advantages which apparently would have given them the victory. Yet for a time after coming to close quarters with the enemy, they fought with their accustomed bravery, and held their own with unavailing resolution against the better disciplined soldiery of England. At last, however, they were beaten back in wild confusion; and the broken ranks of the retreating army were

chased almost to the gates of Edinburgh. According to the statement of an eye-witness, as many as fourteen thousand men were slaughtered as they fled;[1] and many more were drowned in attempting to cross the river Esk. The pursuit, after having lasted for five hours, and extended over five miles, ended in the waning twilight of an autumn evening.

Had the English general been able to follow up this crushing blow by taking possession of Edinburgh, or by securing the person of Mary Stuart—and apparently he might have done either or both—it would have gone hard for a time with the national independence. But the intrigues of his rivals at the Court of St James' compelled Somerset to return to London; and it was impossible to leave his army behind him. No food had been provided for his men, no forage for his horses, and the exhausted condition of the country could not supply them with either shelter or provisions. To retain their hold upon Scotland under such circumstances was impossible, and the English general, how-

[1] See Patten, sig. F. vj. b.

ever unwillingly, was compelled to order his troops to march homewards.[1]

The departure of the invaders enabled the Queen Dowager and the Governor to deliberate how they might best provide for the difficulties of their situation. These were neither few nor light. Would not the conqueror return to complete the work of destruction? After such a crushing defeat, had Scotland either the resources or the courage necessary to risk a second struggle? What if the English party should insist upon the surrender of the young Queen, and refuse to grant peace, save at the price of the national independence? All these questions pressed upon the Queen Dowager and the Governor, and it was not easy to find an answer to them. And to complete this cruel perplexity, they had reason to believe that ere long their country would be exposed to another invasion.

[1] Wotton, the English ambassador, in 1553, gives it as his opinion that no English army can remain longer in Scotland than eight days, from its inability to supply itself with provisions; in proof of which he quotes the present expedition. See Negot. de Noailles, iii. 17.

The report was too true. It had been decided that the Western Borders should be harried by Lord Wharton and the Earl of Lennox (the father of the future King of Scotland), while, on the other side, the Merse should be devastated by William Lord Grey of Wilton. This nobleman expected to be able to penetrate as far as the gates of Edinburgh, and vowed that he would spare none who had not made their submission to England.[1] Stirling was now no longer a place of safety for Mary Stuart, and she was removed to the comparative security of the monastery of Inchmahome. A meeting of the Estates was held at Haddington shortly before the 24th of June, in which it was decided that the young Queen of Scotland should become the wife of the Dauphin of France, and should be educated in that country.

No time was lost in putting this project into execution. Admiral Villegaignon, with four galleys, was lying off Leith, ready to sail for France.[2] His destination was no secret, and

[1] R. O. Edw. VI. vol. iii. 40.

[2] Lesley, p. 170, 171. On the last of August 1548, Henry II.

the arrangements which he made for his departure were obvious to all the world. It was clear to the many curious eyes which scanned his movements, that when he sailed from Leith the little Queen was not on board his vessel. As soon, however, as the ships were out of sight of land they changed their course and steered due north. Skirting the coast of Sutherland and Caithness they passed through the wild Pentland Firth, and the no less dangerous Minch, and in safety reached the Clyde. Their arrival there had been anxiously awaited by the Queen Dowager, who with her daughter had sought refuge in Dumbarton Castle. All the arrangements for the voyage having been made, she was consigned without delay to M de Brézé, who had been entrusted with the

informed the States of Scotland that their young Queen had arrived in good health in Bretagne on the 13th instant, and that she is now on her way to join the Dauphin, "son mary. She is to be brought up along with the royal children. Wherever she journeys on the road, she is to be received with royal honours, and has power to grant pardons and to deliver prisoners. In every respect he regards her as his daughter, and considers that the two nations are now united. He will send back the galleys laden with troops, money, powder, and all necessary supplies." Ribier, ii. 150.

charge of her conveyance into France. She was accompanied by the Lords Erskine and Livingstone; and the four Maries, whose names are so intimately connected with her own, formed part of her retinue. As usual the English cruisers were upon the alert, and being aware of the magnitude of the prize, exercised more than their usual vigilance. Nor was the voyage without its dangers of another kind, for the course which had been decided upon, that namely, by the coast of Ireland, was exposed to sudden storms, and beset with unknown rocks and currents. All these perils notwithstanding, the voyage, though stormy, was accomplished in safety; and on the 13th day of August 1548, Mary Stuart reached the little port of Roscoff,[1] near Brest, where a small

[1] I gladly borrow the following description of the Chapel of Roscoff from the pages of a contemporary journal:—

"In the little seaport town of Roscoff, in the Department of Finisterre, there stands a small ruined chapel dedicated to St Ninian. This was founded in 1548 by Mary Stuart, on the very spot where she disembarked on her coming into France to be affianced to the Dauphin. To preserve the memory of the place of her landing, history tells us that her foot was traced on the rock, and above it was raised the little Gothic chapel, beautiful in its simplicity, if we may judge from the remains still standing.

chapel was afterwards erected by her to mark the spot where her foot first touched the soil of her adopted country. During the course of her journey towards the Court she was everywhere received with royal honours; and on her arrival at St. Germain-en-Laye, a household, with its due train of attendants, was provided for her service at the expense of her future father-in-law.

The incidents of which the outline only has been traced in the present chapter, must have left a profound impression upon the men who witnessed them. A brave people, like that of Scotland, jealously sensitive on every point which touches the dignity of its nationality, cannot but have felt keenly, and bitterly resented the wrongs and the insults which England had heaped upon it. Its independence

The roof has long since disappeared, but the arched doorway, though weather-beaten by the lapse of ages, is there. The mullions of three windows remain perfect, though disfigured with stones replacing the ancient glass. The interior of St Ninian's Chapel is desolate indeed, though three stone altars stand in their original places, and impress one with the idea that the restoration of this sanctuary would not be difficult." See the *Tablet*, 30th Sept. 1876, p. 429.

had been violated, and its rights had been threatened; the personal safety of its sovereign had been endangered; its soil had been invaded; its towns had been sacked, and its children had been murdered by the wanton lawlessness of the stronger hand. Looking at its national character, its keen perception and its prompt action, one might reasonably expect that it would have resented any such indignity by a declaration of open warfare. But such was not the case; and if we ask why, we must be content to be told that the Reformation explains this declension of the national spirit. It now becomes our duty to point out how, as in the case of Mary Stuart, innocence and good faith may be cheated, maligned, and made to suffer as an evil-doer; and, on the other hand, to chronicle the triumphs of cruelty, treachery and falsehood.

CHAPTER IV.

QUEEN MARY IN FRANCE.

THE peaceful security in which the little Queen of Scotland now found herself, contrasted pleasantly with the life of danger and unrest from which she had escaped; and young though she was, the child was old enough to appreciate the charms and the comforts of her new home. Its pleasures were many, and she could understand them; but it had its dangers, and they lay beneath the surface. The Court of France, in which Mary Stuart was now domesticated, was one of the most refined, and at the same time one of the most dissipated Courts in Europe. Possibly, the extent of its immoralities

may have been exaggerated by political writers for party ends; but no one can read the pages of any contemporary author, Brantôme, for example, without learning that much of its daily life was a continued school of profligacy. Fortunately, however, for the child, she was too young at the time of her arrival to receive any permanent injury from the example or the conversation of the nobles who frequented St Germain or Fontainbleau; and the arrangements which had been made by her mother for her removal into a healthier moral atmosphere, placed her beyond the reach of influences which otherwise might have proved dangerous.

Henry the Second, King of France, was sincerely attached to his "reinette" of Scotland, as it pleased him to style her, and he always treated her as one of his own children.[1] The cruel dislike and jealousy[2] with which

[1] When writing about Mary to her mother, Henry generally designates her as "notre petite fille la reyne." See MS. Balcarras in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, under the dates of 19th April 1548, and 15th July and 9th August 1549.

[2] It has been conjectured, but upon insufficient authority, that Catherine's enmity arose from a presumed design of the Duke of Guise to induce Henry II. to marry the lady who afterwards

Catherine de Medicis in after years persecuted her daughter-in-law, had not yet manifested themselves; at least, not so overtly as to attract notice. From the first moment of her arrival in the French Court, the Dauphin had been taught to regard Mary as his affianced wife; and she received with innocent satisfaction the small attentions which he lavished upon her.[1] There was no lack of companionship for the little girl in her new home. The other children of the royal family were Charles and Henry, both of whom occupied the throne of France during Mary's lifetime; and three daughters, the Princess Elizabeth, who became the wife of Philip the Second of Spain; Claude, who married Charles, Duke of Lorraine, and

became the mother of Mary Stuart. See Forneron, des Ducs de Guise, i. 73, Paris, 1877. Upon these questions the work of M. Cheruel, "Marie Stuart et Catherine de Medicis," p. 17, Paris, 1858, may be consulted. A letter from Prospero, Cardinal de Santa Croce to Cardinal Borromeo, 27th June 1563 (in the Secret Archives at Rome), confirms the supposition of M. Cheruel as to the origin of this jealousy.

[1] A letter from King Henry to Mary of Guise tells her that during the festivities connected with the marriage of the Duke d'Aumale (August 1548), the Dauphin danced with little Mary, and expresses his satisfaction on observing how happy the children were with each other. MS. Balcarras, Maitl. Miscell. i. 9.

Margaret, the wife of Henry the Fourth of France. All of these children were younger than Mary Stuart, who, partly because of her seniority, partly because of her premature dignity as a crowned Queen, took precedence of them by the King's express directions.[1]

A school of writers, now happily all but extinct, used to assume that the portentous wickedness with which they charged Mary Stuart was to be explained by the fact that she was educated by Catherine de Medicis; and that the evil character of the younger Queen is but the reflex of that of her instructress. In refutation of this theory, it it may be enough to state, once for all, that Catherine had no share in Mary's education. During the whole of the reign of Henry the Second, the influence

[1] On 24th August 1548, Henry informed M. de Humyers that he had received intelligence of the arrival of his daughter, the Queen of Scotland, in the port of Roscou, in Bretagne; and then he continues:—"In answer to your question as to the rank which I wish my daughter, the Queen of Scotland, to occupy, I have to inform you that it is my desire that she should take the precedence of my daughters. For not only the marriage between my son and her is settled and concluded, but she is a crowned queen, and as such it is my wish that she should be honoured and served." MS. Egerton, 3, fol. 1, b.

of his wife in the Court of France was at the lowest; she had a very special dislike to Mary, whose company she avoided as much as possible, and at the last succeeded in driving her back to the home of her birth from the home of her adoption.

The moral and religious education of the young Scottish Queen was placed in good hands. It had been entrusted to the care of Antoinette de Bourbon, her maternal grandmother; and it would not have been easy to have formed a more judicious selection. The deeply devotional character so conspicuous in Antoinette had been fostered by her husband Claude, the first Duke of Guise.[1] She was an affiliated member of the severe orders of the Dominicans, Cistercians, and Carmelites; and in conjunction with her husband, she had founded a house for Benedictine monks at Joinville. On his death, Antoinette devoted the remainder of her life to the care of the poor, the widow and the orphan, whose wants she relieved with her own hands. In his

[1] See Bouille, Les Ducs de Guise, i. 214, Paris, 1849.

review of her life, Jean Gontery holds her up to admiration as a mirror of perfection, a princess of rare virtue, a woman admirable for her charity, her Christian patience, and her entire devotion to her husband. She ruled her large household with a prudent economy, and governed her numerous domestics with mingled authority and gentleness. She seldom visited Paris, for she was far happier among her own people. Even when she went to Court, she wore the plain dress of serge which was her usual habit at Joinville. In the gallery through which she passed to the chapel, to hear her Mass, she placed her coffin, in order that she might be daily reminded by it of her own mortality. After a widowhood of nearly thirty-three years, spent chiefly in works of devotion to God, and charity towards the poor and suffering, this excellent woman died 20th January 1583, and was buried near her husband, in the church of St Laurence at Joinville.[1]

[1] See Hilarion Coste, Eloges, i. 136, Paris, 1647 : Gontery, Sermon Funèbre, Paris, 1612 ; Bouille, Les Ducs de Guise, i. 214.

During the earlier years of her life, Mary Stuart paid frequent visits to the Abbey of St Pierre at Rheims (which afterwards became the burial place of her mother, Mary of Guise), of which one of her aunts was abbess.[1] Another was abbess of Fontevrault, and a third (Antoinette) presided over the Benedictine Convent of Farmoutier, both of them establishments of the highest rank in the Church of France. Claude, Duke of Guise, had a son named after himself, who died Abbot of Cluny in 1604. It appears then that the young Queen had many opportunities of spending part of her time with several of her near relatives, from whose conversation and example one may presume she would gain much benefit and instruction.

In temporal matters, the influence which chiefly served to form the character of Mary Stuart was that exercised by her two maternal uncles, the Duke of Guise and his brother, the

[1] Writing to his sister, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, on 12th July 1554, the Cardinal of Guise tells her that her daughter was nearly every day at St Pierre with "our sisters," to their great pleasure. MS. Balcarras, iii. 145.

Cardinal.[1] They gained her confidence at the first, and they kept it to the last. They loved their niece, and they were proud of her; proud of her prompt and bright intelligence, her rare beauty and her dignified position. They did not love her the less because they knew that she would soon become the wife of the Dauphin, and in due time Queen of France. They were bold and ambitious men, and we cannot blame them if they hoped to extend the power of their family through their niece. Mary's long absence from her mother made her turn to her maternal uncles with increased affection, and they found it no difficult task to mould her character according to their own principles. She was an apt pupil; and the lessons which they taught the child were never forgotten by the woman and the Queen.

With the quick intuition of her age and sex, the girl's instincts led her to give the preference to the Duke of Guise rather than to the Cardinal,

[1] When speaking of the family of Guise, Brantôme (who knew them well) designates them as a "race noble, belle, bonne, et d'illustre vie." Œuvres i. 293, ed. 1848.

and history has confirmed the wisdom of her decision. The Duke was a noble character, even in the opinion of his enemies. His defence of Metz against all the power of Charles the Fifth, and still more his recovery of Calais from the English, won for him the admiration of the whole of Europe, and made him the most popular hero among his own countrymen. The only successes in the field which had been achieved by France under Henry the Second, were gained by the skill and courage of the Duke of Guise. He was essentially the soldier, with a soldier's merits and failings. He was brave and sincere, truthful, open, and generous; and the morality of his private life contrasts favourably with that of most of his compeers. But, on the other hand, the stern severity with which he enforced discipline and punished all violations of it, either in Church or in State, has earned for him the reputation of being harsh, intolerant, and cruel.[1] But if he was

[1] Yet, on the other hand, Brantôme (i. 414-415) enlarges upon his "belle et douce clemence et benignite, courtoisie, douceur et misericorde," and gives instances in which he exhibited these qualities in his conduct.

strict in regard to others he was doubly so towards himself.

It must be admitted that Charles, Archbishop of Rheims and Cardinal of Guise, contrasts somewhat unfavourably with his elder brother the great Duke.[1] It is difficult, however, to arrive at a correct estimate of his character, for apparently both his faults and his merits have been exaggerated. History tells us that he was a well-read scholar, an acute disputant, and an eloquent preacher. Quick, shrewd, and observant, he is said to have possessed the faculty of divining the wishes and plans of others before they had been fully expressed. He was a skilful diplomatist, and had made himself familiar with the politics of every court of Europe. He had studied the literature not only of ancient Greece

[1] In his estimate of the two brothers, Brantôme says of the Cardinal, "Il n'avait pas l'ame si pure," as the Duke; but he adds that time and sorrow brought out the better features of his disposition. On the unfavourable points of his character see Mignet, Hist. de Marie Stuart, i. 44, ed. 1854; Guillmin, Le Cardinal de Lorraine, pp. 25, 453, 455; Alberi, p. 441; Tommaceo, i. 458. The Cardinal was a frequent speaker in the Council of Trent, and was heard with respect. Apparently he might have succeeded to the Papacy, had he pleased, on the death of Paul IV. in 1559.

and Rome, but also of modern Spain and Italy. Yet his character has its shadows. Brantôme speaks of the immoralities of his private life as a charge generally admitted; while others regard such accusations as political calumnies of no weight whatever. His ambition soared higher than that of his brother, and at one period of his career it was thought that he would soon wear the papal crown. He was accused of being deficient in personal courage, and this timidity made him suspicious and cruel. Yet if he has his accusers he has also his defenders; and to whichever side the argument may for the moment seem to preponderate, it should be remembered that there is evidence to the contrary.

The attack and defence being thus evenly balanced, we cannot perhaps do better than leave the decision of this disputed question to the historian Ranke,[1] whose candour and impartiality are generally admitted. Charles, Car-

[1] Civil Wars of France, i. 247, ed. 1852. Ranke's estimate of the Cardinal might be confirmed in almost every point by a reference to the great work of Morlot. Metropolis Remensis, ii. 782.

dinal of Guise, says this author, left nothing undone which could be effected by a prelate who cared for his diocese. His actions there have won for him an undying memory. He caused unhealthy morasses to be drained, and converted them into fertile meadows and smiling gardens. From his forests at Joinville he supplied the timber which was required for the buildings, with which he ornamented the city of Rheims, of which he was archbishop; and to him might well be applied the familiar remark, that what he found a village of clay he left a city of marble. To him it was indebted for a university, a theological college, a seminary, and a convent. In no respect did he neglect his responsibilities either as a citizen or an ecclesiastic. He took care that the parish priests should attend to the duties of their cures. When he preached he moved all hearts by his eloquence. He held several provincial synods for the revival of discipline; and the wisdom of the regulations laid down in them has been generally admitted. Although he was the youngest of the French cardinals, he set

them all an example which they did well to follow. Hounds and hawks were never seen within his palace. During the Lent of each year he retired to some religious community, where by prayer and meditation he prepared himself for the approaching festival of Easter. Nature had given him a dignified exterior; his person was tall and his expression noble, and he might easily be recognised by his broad and lofty forehead. When he spoke, his discourse was well digested and well expressed, and the words flowed from his lips with winning grace and dignity.

If these eloquent sentences of Ranke give us a trustworthy estimate of the Cardinal of Guise, the direction of Mary's education was in good hands. And we may be sure that the care of the aged Dowager-Duchess would provide that the moral and religious training of her grandchild should not be sacrificed to the acquisition of that which was purely intellectual and ornamental.

Mary's education had been cared for before she left Scotland. Even at that early period of her life two churchmen had been appointed as

her teachers, John Erskine, Prior of Inchmahome, and Alexander Scott, parson of Balmaclellan.[1] As long as she continued to reside with the royal children in the Court of France, she was instructed by their masters and shared in their studies. Nor were her lighter accomplishments neglected. About the time of her arrival at St Germain, Henry thought himself fortunate in discovering an accomplished dancing master, who at the same time was a good Christian, and him the King gladly secured to instruct the Dauphin and his future bride. We shall hear of her other teachers presently. In the meantime, as she was gifted with a good wit and with corresponding diligence and application, the education of the little Queen of Scotland made rapid progress. With her, to study was a pleasant occupation, which soon became a recognised act of duty. She was made to understand that a position of exceptional difficulty was before her, and that in order to fill it with dignity and advantage she must labour during the golden hours of her youth. Already she was Queen of Scotland, and

[1] In the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

there was the probability that she would soon wear the crown of France. The succession to the throne of England, although an unsolved problem, yet was one which was not removed beyond the limits of a reasonable possibility.[1]

In the spring of the year 1550 Mary lost her maternal grandfather, Claude, Duke of Guise, the husband of Antoinette de Bourbon, to whose care Mary had been entrusted by her mother. Claude died in the castle of Joinville, in the chapel of which he was buried. The little Mary assisted at the funeral, of which a detailed account was published in the following year. The example and conversation of Claude were most edifying. He was devout, humble, and charitable; "and his house was liker a monastery than the court of a great prince."[2]

[1] The claim of Mary Stuart to the throne of England upon the death of Mary Tudor was the cause of continued solicitude to the politicians of the age. See Vannes to Petre, 30th May 1556, and Wotton to Queen Mary Tudor, 13th January 1557, in the Foreign Correspondence.

[2] Bouille, i. 214. See also a curious little volume entitled, "Le tres-excellent enterrement du tres-hault et tres-illustre Prince Claude de Lorraine, Duc de Guise et d'Aumale. . . . Par Emond du Boullay, roy d'armes de Lorraine." Paris, 1551, 8vo. Mary Stuart is mentioned at pp. 61, 74.

Although the tidings which from time to time reached Scotland from the French Court, as to the health and education of Mary Stuart, were upon the whole highly satisfactory, yet it was natural that upon both of these questions Mary of Guise should wish to see and judge for herself. She was anxious to form her own opinion as to the child's constitution, as to the strength of which unfavourable reports had from time to time been circulated in England.[1] She wished to see what progress had been made by her daughter in her learning and accomplishments; and to ascertain what were her tastes, habits, and inclinations. Another motive was found in her anxiety to see her son, the Duke de Longueville, from whom she had parted when he was a baby. Such feelings as these were of themselves a sufficient motive for her journey, and yet they were not the only ones which influenced her. Political considerations had their share in the

[1] On 10th September 1550 Sir John Mason, writing from Poissy, informs the English Privy Council that for the last ten or twelve days the Queen of Scotts had been so dangerously ill of the prevailing flux, that her recovery was doubted; but that within the last two days she was considered to be out of danger. R. O. Calend. p. 54.

decision. Henry, King of France, was anxious to strengthen his position in Scotland against England, and in doing it he saw the wisdom of profiting by the experience and advice of the Queen Dowager. It was obvious that the approaching marriage of the Dauphin of France with the Queen of Scotland would give rise to many grave political questions which already demanded deliberate forethought. The peace recently concluded between France and England, in which Scotland was comprehended,[1] gave a favourable opportunity for the absence of the Dowager, of which she gladly availed herself. Accompanied by a brilliant retinue of nobles, she embarked (8th May 1550) in the galleys which the King of France had sent to Leith for her use, and after a voyage of twelve days she landed at Dieppe. She was received with royal honours by the King of France, her brother, the great Duke of Guise, treated her as a crowned head, and a splendid train was appointed to wait upon her during her visit. She was accompanied by a large retinue of Scottish gentlemen. The bap-

[1] On 24th March 1550. See Rymer, xv. 211.

tism of the child, to which the French Queen had lately given birth, was delayed until the ceremony could be honoured by her presence. The King himself joined the triumphal procession which welcomed her entry into Rouen.[1] Her visit caused some anxiety to the English ambassador, who saw in it an omen of evil augury to the welfare of his country, miserably weakened at that time by the contending factions which ruled it in the name of Edward the Sixth. Of this disunion the French were probably well aware. "They know our estate," wrote Mason to Cecil, "and thereby think they may ride upon our backs."[2] The English envoy reported to his Government that the Queen Dowager, taking advantage of her influence in the French Court (where, said he, she beareth the whole

[1] An interesting account of these festivities was printed at Rouen in 1551 in a quarto volume, which contains a series of spirited woodcuts representing the various pageants which formed parts of the procession. The letterpress informs us that the Queen Dowager of Scotland entered Rouen on Thursday, 25th September 1550, where she was joined on the 27th by the King and Queen of France. A beautiful copy of this scarce and curious volume, on vellum, is in the library of the Marques of Lothian, at Newbattle Abbey.

[2] This letter is dated 2d November 1550.

swing), was labouring to strengthen the union of that realm with Scotland, and at the same time to embitter the national hostility of both towards England. That such was the case is by no means improbable, and if she did so she would be ably seconded by her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal. The King himself was not ashamed to profit by her experience. He asked her advice upon various questions of State, and would give no "resolute answer" to the proposals of the English Government until he had consulted her upon them.[1]

But the stay of Mary of Guise in France was not one of unmingled happiness, for during the time which she spent there, an attempt to poison her daughter was in progress, and might at any time have been executed. The design was formed by one Robert Stuart, who claimed (truly or falsely is uncertain) to belong to the Royal Family of Scotland. At all events, he seems to have been a person of respectable

[1] See further Sir John Mason's letter to the Privy Council of England, 23d February 1551, in the Record Office.

origin,[1] but his whole career was one continued succession of crimes. We are very imperfectly acquainted with the history of his intended assassination of the Queen. We do not know by whom it was suggested, by whom Stuart was employed, or how the criminal escaped from the punishment which he so amply merited at the hands of justice. When we speculate as to who would be benefited by Mary's death, we are involved in difficulties which we do not attempt to solve. As to the facts themselves, as far as we know them, they are soon told. When Stuart undertook to do the deed, his first step was to discover how he could obtain easy, safe, and frequent access to her person. He procured

[1] According to Brantôme (i. 325), he was "un gentilhomme Ecossois de fort bonne et grande maison." Knowing the spirit of the times, and bearing in mind what experience has already taught us, I cannot but suspect that the English Government had a guilty knowledge of this hideous plot from the beginning. On January 28, 1551, the Council introduced to Sir John Mason, their ambassador in France, as secret agent, "one that Balneys (Balneaves), the Scot, hath councilled to be in France." They also gave him £10 towards his expenses. The connection of this anonymous Scot with Balneaves—a person so closely associated with the murder of Cardinal Beton—excites our suspicion, and all the more so when we find that the letter of introduction referred to above—innocent as it looks—was written in cipher.

letters of recommendation for himself in the first instance to the Earl of Huntly and the Archbishop of Glasgow, both of whom were in Paris in attendance upon the Queen Dowager Provided with these introductions he came to London, and contrived to gain admission to certain members of the English Privy Council, upon the plea that he could easily render them an important national service. When they asked for an explanation, he reminded them that the great obstacle to the long sought union of England and Scotland was Mary Stuart; and then he pointed out how easily this obstacle could be removed. His plan, he said, was a simple one. Having already obtained an appointment in the Queen's household, he could at any time make his way into the kitchen, where some of his old acquaintances were already employed. His presence there would excite no suspicion. He could soon discover what were Mary Stuart's tastes; and then nothing could be easier than to mix poison in the dish which it was known that she preferred, and of which she usually partook.[1]

[1] On this atrocious project see Teulet, i. 260, who has printed

Such was the outline of Stuart's plan. In submitting it to the Privy Council of England, he must have believed that there was a reasonable probability of it meeting with their approval. But the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Warwick, and Lord Paget, profess to have been horrified at the disclosure; they threw Stuart in prison, and forwarded an account of the whole transaction to the French Court. Henry, in his reply, demanded that the criminal should be forwarded to him for examination.

So far the narrative is plain and intelligible, but from this point it becomes so obscure and incoherent as to excite our suspicions. The French Ambassador, then resident in London, seems to have thought that an attempt was being made to screen the criminal. He com-

several official papers connected with it, none of which, however, clear up the obscurities in which it is involved. That it was known to the English ambassador, is proved by the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1551, April 29, June 6 and 9. We need not be surprised to find that with such terrors around her, Mary of Guise suffered at this time from a sharp attack of illness. See a letter from Catherine de Medicis to the Constable in her Correspondence, i. 19.

plains that the Privy Council neglected to supply the documents without the production of which they well knew that Stuart could not be convicted. No statement of his examination was forthcoming, nor was his confession, nor a note of the circumstances under which he had been arrested, although these papers had been frequently demanded, and as frequently promised. Stuart was sent off to France without due notice having been previously given to the police there to await his arrival. There would seem to have been a large amount of ignorance or negligence, or indifference, or connivance on the part of the English Government, which it is not easy to explain. But be that as it may, it appears that Stuart did actually pass into the hands of the French officials. By them he was lodged in the Castle of Angers on the 5th of June 1551, and it was intended that on the following day he should be safely transferred to the state prison of Plessis-Mace. (Such, at least, is the statement of Mason, the English Ambassador.) From this date he disappears, how, we know not. Did he escape from prison? Was

he tried and acquitted? We can give no answer.[1]

It may be instructive as well as interesting, however, to trace the subsequent history of a man who aimed at the honour of becoming a regicide, and this can be done by the help of the official correspondence of the period.

In A.D. 1559, one Robert Stuart, who claimed to be connected with the Royal Family of Scotland, was apprehended in Paris upon the charge of having murdered the President Minart.[2] Unfortunately for himself, Minart had become obnoxious to the party of the Huguenots, and Stuart was employed to remove the nuisance. He did this very effectually, and was so well befriended, that he escaped from this charge also; for, in the March of the following year, we find him again in prison upon suspicion of

[1] Teulet, i. 260-273. On 14th June 1551 the Register of the English Privy Council notices that the French King returns thanks for the sending of Robert Stewart to him. R. O. France, April 29, June 6 and 9. I cannot but observe, however, that Mason was at Angers on June 6, the day of Stuart's arrival there, and that he left on the following day. See his letter of that date in the Record Office.

[2] R. O. Foreign, Eliz., 27th Dec. 1559. Forbes, i. 286.

being connected with a plot to murder the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, with the details of which we are unacquainted.[1] Innocent or guilty, he again contrived to escape with his life; it is possible, however, that the next few years of his existence were spent in prison, for he does not reappear upon the scene until 1566, when we find him still in Paris in the service of the Admiral Coligny.[2] In the July of the same year, Robert Stuart is in correspondence with Cecil; who, a year afterwards, instructs Sir Henry Norris, the English Ambassador in Paris, to have a conference with him upon the defence of religion. Stuart was rejoiced to hear of Cecil's zeal in the good cause, and suggested that Elizabeth should help it forward, if it were only by a contribution of one hundred crowns. The result of the proposal is not recorded. We are told, however, that at the battle of St Denis (10th November 1567) the old Constable Montmorency was killed by a shot in the back fired

[1] R. O. Foreign, Eliz., 7th March 1560. Forbes, i. 382. P. Paris, 207, 283.

[2] Foreign Calend., No. 577.

by the hand of Robert Stuart, who was afterwards executed as a murderer.[1]

The agitation through which the Queen Dowager of Scotland had passed, in consequence of this threatened attempt upon her daughter's life, was not the only trial to which she was exposed during her stay in France. It will be remembered that by her first husband, Louis, Duke of Longueville, she had become the mother of a son named Francis, who, on the death of his father, succeeded to the paternal estates, upon which he resided while his mother made her abode in Scotland. Apparently the mother and child had not met from the time of her second marriage; and now, on her return to France, she found him approaching to early manhood. But at this very time he was attacked by an illness which ended fatally (22d September 1551), under circumstances of which we are ignorant. That the grief of Mary of Guise was deep and sincere, appears by a curious memorial which has come down to our

[1] See P. Paris, Le regne de François II., pp. 207, 283; Foreign Calend., 577, 583, 1405, 1824; Brantôme, i. 325, 326.

own time without having attracted even the most passing notice. It is a hasty memorandum hurriedly written, apparently from the Queen's dictation, and somewhat obscurely expressed. In it she records her wishes as to the acts of devotion and charity which she intends to have executed for the benefit of the soul of her deceased child. Some of the entries are so curious as to be worthy of transcription. She provides that a messenger shall go from Scotland to St James (of Compostella?) where an offering shall be made at the High Mass. This offering was to be a representation of the deceased in wax, of the size of a child of four months of age, and was to weigh . . . (The weight unknown, and therefore not entered.) Six other offerings were to be made at different shrines on the Continent, the names of which are here specified; and it is provided that in each case the offering shall be identical with that above described.

The Queen then turns her thoughts to Scotland, and wishes to carry along with her to the home of her adoption the memory of her first-

born child. With that object, she arranges that Mass shall be said for her son at "Saint Trygnan," or St Ninian of Whitehern, the earliest church in Scotland, at St Adrian's, in the Isle of May, at the shrine of the True Cross at Peebles, and at Soltre. At each of these localities, it is provided that the religious functions shall be the same as that which is described above. In this paper the Queen Dowager states it to be her wish, that in the event of her own death occurring before these arrangements could be carried into effect, the present document should be forwarded to her mother, who would see it executed.

Having thus satisfied her maternal affection, and arranged for her duties as a Christian woman, she began to prepare for her journey homeward. She had spent about a year and four months in France, and the political condition of Scotland demanded her return with the least possible delay. A revolutionary movement, of the extensive ramifications of which she could have known very little, had been making way, silently but surely, during her

absence; and on her return, its strength had grown beyond her control. But as yet the future was unknown to her; and she bravely prepared herself to meet the difficulties which she saw in the present. The parting of Mary Stuart and Mary of Guise was a final one; but each of the two women was so blinded as to believe that France and Scotland were now one country, and that their interests were identical, and would so continue.

The homeward voyage from France was a prosperous one. Escorted by ten ships of war, Mary landed at Portsmouth (November 2), and made her way thence to London by easy journeys. Everywhere her reception was most cordial, for her winning kindliness of manner captivated all hearts.[1] She had cause to feel proud of the honours lavished upon her by all

[1] In the Register Book of Privy Council (B. M. Addit. MS., 14,026, fol. 41, b.) occur letters addressed to the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, written on the arrival of the Queen Dowager of Scotland at Portsmouth. The Marquis of Northampton and his wife were appointed to wait upon her. Her movements in England are recorded in a letter from the Council to Sir William Pickering, 5th November 1551, of which an abstract may be seen in the Calendar of Foreign State Papers already referred to.

classes of society. When she arrived at court King Edward paid her marked attention, and ordered that on her northward journey she should be treated with the respect due to her royal dignity. She reached Scotland about the end of November 1551, and found herself involved in the political troubles which had already begun to distract and agitate that unhappy kingdom.[1]

"The absence of the Queen Dowager, extending as it did over a period of sixteen months, was a calamity to the interests of her daughter. No sooner had she embarked at Leith for France, than the government of the country passed, for all practical purposes, into the hands of the Lord James Stuart, and the party who acted along with him. The people grew familiar with the idea that they could live very happily among themselves without the presence of two women who were strangers, and who

[1] According to the Diurnal, she embarked at Leith 8th August 1550, and left France about 30th November 1551. See further R. O. Foreign, 1551, November 5, the Council to Pickering, and the Register of Privy Council, B. M. MS. Addit., 14,026, fol. 41, b.

betrayed their foreign sympathies at every turn, by their tastes, their habits, and their language. The men who aimed at power had now for the time gained undisturbed possession of the country which they hoped ere long to bring over to their religious opinions; and the authority with which the Queen had indirectly invested them, made the process comparatively easy. By cultivating more amicable relations with England, they could, to a great extent, neutralise the opposition which they might otherwise have experienced from their Southern neighbours; and the right hand of fellowship which they held out to the Reformers, domestic as well as foreign, brought into harmony, or seemed to do so, elements which otherwise might have been discordant.

All these considerations, however, were very imperfectly understood by the Queen Regent. It appeared to her that all that she had seen and heard in France gave her the assurance of victory. She was convinced that, owing to the divided condition of England, that formidable power could no longer curb Scotland so

easily as she used to do in former days. We know that she was wrong in her conclusions. Wise after the events which to her were so many unsolved problems, we wonder at her simple credulity, and pity her want of perception. Let us forgive her if she failed to read the stars. We may think that she was mistaken; but we cannot write her down as dishonest. She did the best she could for her daughter. She fought a long and a losing fight against an overpowering superiority; and she died in the struggle, like a noble and true-hearted woman. Sometimes a defeat is grander than a victory

CHAPTER V.

QUEEN MARY'S EDUCATION IN FRANCE.

ON her mother's departure, Mary resumed her studies with increased energy and perseverance, and the progress which she made was rapid and satisfactory. Her acquirements were varied and brilliant, yet they were solid; and they were relieved and ornamented by the usual lighter accomplishments which became one of her sex and station. Even in that age of advanced scholarship in which she lived, she was regarded as a well-educated woman. She spoke the Italian language accurately and fluently, and we shall presently have occasion to make some remarks upon her acquaintance with Latin composition.

The verses of which she was the authoress were considered elegant and harmonious by such critics as Ronsard and Brantôme. She was well acquainted with ancient and modern literature, and she evidently had been a careful student of the Holy Scriptures. She enjoyed exercise in the open air in all its forms, and to one of her constitution and temperament, it was almost a necessity. She was a bold rider, and followed the hounds with a spirit which often made her careless of her personal safety. She danced with elegance, and was a proficient in music, both vocal and instrumental. She has left behind her several specimens of her skill in the use of the needle; and it is pleasant to think that her acquaintance with the art of embroidery, in which she excelled, must have enlivened many a weary hour during her long years of imprisonment in England.[1]

[1] Several pieces of embroidery, executed by Queen Mary, are described in the "Catalogue of Antiquities, etc., exhibited in Edinburgh in 1859," p. 183. Conn (in Jebb ii. 13-15) tells us that various specimens of similar work were to be seen in his day in France.

Of Mary's personal attractions it is not easy to speak with fitting reserve, when we remember that all who saw her have united in expressing the most fervent admiration. Perhaps the safest authority upon the subject will be that of a woman; the reader is invited therefore to accept the following description of Mary's appearance when she had reached her fourteenth year. Miss Strickland thus describes the whole-length portrait of her, which formerly graced the royal gallery at Fontainebleau. In it the colour of her hair and eyes is represented as of a rich brown tint; so are her beautiful eyebrows. Her complexion is clear and delicate, but somewhat pale; her nose straight. Nothing can be more lovely, refined, and intellectual than her features, but her demeanour is painfully grave and dignified. The roundness of contour, and the softness of early youth are there; but even then the cares of early greatness are legibly impressed on the countenance. As she advanced towards womanhood, these outward charms expanded and increased, until they earned for her the

reputation of being the most beautiful woman in Europe.[1]

But there must have been other influences to account for the charm exercised by Mary Stuart upon every one who came within the range of her society. Personal beauty, the beauty of form and feature, cannot long retain its sway, unless supported by other attractions more powerful and more permanent. All with whom she conversed were won by the charm of her manner and conversation.[2] There seems to have been about her a certain kindliness of demeanour and simplicity of address which gained for her a welcome entrance into all hearts, and at once conciliated the person who had been inclined to oppose her, whatever might be his rank in life, his prejudices, or his politics. This gay and unsuspecting spriteliness of youth, arising partly

[1] Life of Queen Mary, i. 19. On the portraits of Mary see the interesting work of Prince Labanoff, and the catalogue mentioned in the last note, p. 201. Her beauty is frequently referred to by Brantôme and Ronsard, and extracts from various other writers to the same effect may be seen in Coste, ii. 507.

[2] In illustration of this, see the letter of White to Cecil in Haynes, p. 509.

from her natural temperament, partly from her early training in the Court of France, might have had great dangers for her, had they not been held in control by deeper principles, and the solid and religious education provided for her by her mother and her maternal relatives. But the girl passed unsullied through all this evil; and the men and women who had known her from her childhood could best appreciate the beauty of her character; its truthfulness, its calm courage, its singleness of purpose, its forgetfulness of self. The more matured qualities of her mind could not fully exhibit themselves until she had begun the battle of life in earnest. At present we are concerned only with the schooldays of the future Queen; and we now resume our remarks upon the progress of her learning and the formation of her character.

At a very early period of her life Mary Stuart began to take lessons in the art of governing. When she had reached her tenth year, her mother could so far trust her discretion, as to consult her upon certain private

matters, respecting which the young diplomat ventured to express her opinion with mingled candour, good sense and modesty.[1] A few months afterwards we see her yet more distinctly, in the report upon the progress of her education, which her uncle, the Cardinal, sent to his sister, Mary of Guise. The letter of his Eminence, dated 25th February 1553, contains the following passages:—

"I told you, Madame, that the King had gone to Amboise to visit the Dauphin and the rest of the royal family, your daughter, the Queen of Scotland, being one of the number. I accompanied His Majesty on this expedition. And now that I have satisfied myself as to their good health, I proceed to tell you of such

[1] Unfortunately very many of Mary's letters are undated, which makes it difficult for us accurately to trace the progress of her education and the expansion of her intellect. In one of them she writes thus to her mother: "Vety humbly do I beg you to believe that I will not fail to obey you in all matters wherein you may be pleased to command me; and to be assured, that the greatest desire which I have in this world is to do your pleasure and to be very obedient to you, serving you in every way in my power, as indeed I am bound to do." Labanoff, i. 6, ascribes this letter to 1552, but to me it seems to have been written at a later period.

matters as more immediately concern yourself, and from which you will derive the most lively satisfaction.

"Your daughter has grown much taller, and she daily improves in goodness and virtue, in beauty and intelligence. She could not possibly make greater progress than she does in all that is excellent and of good reputation. Never have I seen her equal in this realm, either among high or low. I must not fail to tell you, Madame, that so much does the King enjoy her society, that he frequently spends an hour in conversing with her, and this is a great pleasure to him, for she talks as well and as sensibly as if she were a woman of five-and-twenty. You may be assured that in her you have a daughter who will be the greatest of comforts to you. She is about to come to St Germain, along with the other lords and ladies. She will be attended by her usual train, and, indeed, by everything to which she has been accustomed. It now becomes necessary for you to consider the rank which you would wish her to occupy for the future. And in order to give you some infor-

mation upon this subject, I have caused that there should be drawn up for you a list of all the persons who are with her, as also of such as still seem to be necessary for her, and a statement of how much money she can expend annually. I send you this list, and in each article of it I have noted with my own hand what (in my opinion) ought to be done in this matter. On this point I ask you to come to a decision, and then to let me know your good pleasure, in order that I may put your wishes into execution.

"In the settlement of your daughter's establishment, it is my opinion that there should not be anything which is either superfluous or mean; for meanness is the thing which of all others she hates most in this world. Be assured, Madame, that already her spirit is so high that she lets her annoyance be very plainly visible, if she be unworthily treated. And this feeling of independence leads her to wish that she were free from the state of subjection in which she is placed at this time, and that she might live in a position of authority.

"Should it seem to you, Madame, that the

draft be not drawn up on a scale sufficiently liberal for her dignity, then you can enlarge it at your discretion. If this be necessary, care should be taken that this expenditure should be maintained; and that you should look well to the means by which it is to be continued, so that it fall not into arrear. Here in France no aid whatever is to be expected towards its support. The King says that the revenues of the realm are so miserably small that he cannot provide for your daughter. And as for the future, since His Majesty must expend certain sums upon the fortifications in Scotland, he will be compelled to make corresponding deductions from her expenses here in France.

"Your daughter's general conduct is admirable, and nothing can be more satisfactory than the progress which she is making in her education under the care of Madame Parroys. The service of God is carefully observed, as heretofore. The bearer of this will tell you about the speech which your daughter addressed to the King of France."[1]

[1] Labanoff, i. 8. See also Brantôme, v. 83, ed. 1823. In the

The incident to which the Cardinal here refers, that of the Latin speech addressed to the King and nobles by the little Queen of Scotland, seems to have produced a great sensation in the Court of Paris. It was generally admired, even in that critical assembly, not only from the excellence of the composition, as from the ease and grace with which it was delivered. Brantôme refers to it as possessing exceptional merit. As no copy has been transmitted to our day, we must be content to accept it upon the judgment of others.

It was not until the end of the year 1553 that the Queen Mother finally sanctioned an arrangement which gave Mary Stuart an independent household. Probably this welcome intelligence reached her on her birthday, or on the great festival of Christmas. It is certain that she began to exercise her new dignity on the first day of the year 1554;[1] and she in-

Catalogue of the Library of Queen Mary, drawn up in 1578, was a copy of "Ane Oration to the King of the Franche, of the Queen's awin handwrite." Maitland Miscell., i. 4. Mary herself translated it into French, but this version too has perished.

[1] Wotton, always keenly alive as to all that concerned Mary

augurated it by entertaining her uncle the Cardinal at supper. The interest which from the first he had taken in the affairs of his niece had suffered no diminution, and he proved its sincerity by exercising a strict control over her expenditure. He made a monthly inspection of her household arrangements, examined her accounts, and — mindful of the attempt of Robert Stuart — gave her servants the strictest orders to admit no stranger among them. Having done this, he sent his sister, the Queen of Scotland, a note of the month's charges, which she would be required to provide for her daughter's establishment.

When this letter was written Mary Stuart was resident at Meudon, along with her grandmother, Antoinette, Duchess-Dowager of Guise. The baptism of Charles of Lorraine, second son of the Great Duke,[1] which was then and there celebrated, was the signal for a great family

Stuart, informs the English Privy Council on 9th January 1554, that she now keeps a separate establishment in order to show that she is of age to govern. See Foreign Correspondence.

[1] Born 26th March 1554.

gathering. The ceremony was graced by the presence of the King and Queen of France, the Duke of Ferrara, the Duchess of Valentinois, and a large assembly of the chief nobility. In describing it to Mary of Guise shortly afterwards, the Cardinal referred to the good looks and sound health of her daughter, whom he had seen at the ceremony. He assured his sister that there was no truth in certain reports which had lately been put into circulation, to the effect that she had been seriously ill. So far from this being the case, the medical men had agreed in stating that her constitution was excellent, that she would become a strong woman, and to all appearance would reach a vigorous old age. The only disorder of which she had reason to complain was an occasional faintness, the result of her own imprudence. He explains this remark by adding that Mary's appetite, always good (that of a healthy girl in her teens) led her now and then to yield to it a little too far, and then she has to pay the penalty. Perhaps the Cardinal himself was somewhat in fault, for he adds, — "Hence-

forth I shall be more watchful over her dietary."[1]

The praises lavished upon Mary's literary progress urged her to increased exertion in her studies. A remarkable document connected with her school days, in the form of an exercise book, is still preserved, and has been printed. Into this precious little volume she copied with her own hand the Latin themes and letters which she composed during her twelfth and thirteenth years. They were written from day to day as the opportunity occurred, while the Court travelled from one royal residence to another in the course of the summer, autumn and winter of 1554, and the spring of the following year. The handwriting is always neat

[1] Labanoff, i. 21. The excellency of her general health is shortly afterwards confirmed by herself in her letter to her mother. Id. p. 25.

[2] This interesting volume is deposited in the National Library of Paris, No. 8860. It contains 64 themes written on 86 leaves, the Latin portion of which is entirely in Mary's hand. It has been edited by M. Montaiglon among the publications of the Warton Society. It is probable that the name of her instructor in Latin was M. de Saint Estienne, who certainly was the preceptor of her fellow-pupil, the Princess Elizabeth. See Brantôme, v. 140.

and clear, quite Italian in its form, but somewhat varied in appearance, according to the varying qualities of the ink and the pen with which the busy little scribe happened to be provided at the time. The subject matter of these essays is taken entirely from pagan antiquity; from Plato, Cicero, and other classical writers. Three Dialogues of Erasmus are cited, and it seems probable that the whole of the Colloquia were read about this time by the royal children.

Mary's favourite correspondent was her fellow student the Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry the Second,[1] who became the wife of Philip of Spain after the death of Mary Tudor. Two letters in the collection are addressed to Claude, another of Henry's children, the future Duchess of Lorraine. Her other correspondents are her uncle, the great Duke of Guise, and the Dauphin, her affianced hus-

[1] Born at Fontainebleau 13th April 1545, died at Madrid 3d October 1568. Before her marriage with Philip the Second of Spain she had been betrothed to Edward the Sixth of England. A letter from Mary Stuart to her early friend, written a few days before the death of the latter, is given in Lab., ii. 188.

band. One letter, which treats upon the pains of purgatory, seems as if intended to be sent to Calvin; but it may be questioned whether it is anything more than an exercise thrown into the form of an epistle.

From this collection of letters and essays we gain something of an insight into the tastes, habits, and feelings of the future Queen of Scotland. In one place she tells us that she had just left the presence of the Royal Family in order that she might enjoy, without interruption, the dialogue of Erasmus, called the *Diluculum*.[1] In the opinion of the young critic this work is eminently useful, pleasant, and beautiful. She objected to the theories of those philosophers who held that it was an unbecoming thing for women to cultivate the languages and literature of antiquity; and she warmly urged that feminine education should embrace a wider range of study than that within which it generally is confined. So deeply was she impressed with this conviction,

[1] Opera, i. 717, ed. fol. Basil, 1540. This incident occurred upon Sunday, 18th August 1555, while the Royal Family was staying at the Palace of Compiègne.

that in no fewer than fifteen of her letters she discusses the histories of learned women whose names have been recorded by Plutarch. On several occasions the depth of her religious convictions manifests itself. She remarks in one place that if men do not profit by the study of the Holy Scriptures, the fault is their own,—they do not approach them with a pure heart. Writing on the 14th of September, she reminds her correspondent that "to-day is the festival of the Holy Cross, on which hung Jesus Christ, the Son of the Eternal Father, for our salvation." In another place she thus expresses herself:—"In Thy hands, O Lord, is my destiny. If we are poor in this world, herein we are like to our God and our Brother, for He had not where to lay His head. And if men hate us, this poverty and suffering become to us the assured promise of the glory of the kingdom of heaven."

From this interesting little volume we learn the names of the several residences visited by the royal children, among whom the chief place was assigned to Mary Stuart. They spent a few days at Chantilly, belonging to the Con-

stable Montmorency, Compiègne, a royal palace; Rheims, the see of her uncle, the Archbishop; Nanteuil, Villers-Coterets, and Marchais,—all belonging to the princely family of Lorraine.[1] The three royal residences of Touraine, namely, Blois, Amboise, and Orleans, were not forgotten. As we have already seen, Mary passed a few days at Meudon with her grandmother, to whose influence in the formation of her character reference has already been made. It is probable that during one of these visits to Marchais, Mary went on that pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Liesse,[2] to which she refers in one of her letters.

As Mary grew older she insensibly glided

[1] Some original charters lately added to the Library of the British Museum give the following information as to their movements:—

1550. Feb. 19. The Dauphin was at Orleans, the Scottish Queen at Meudon. Add. Chart., 626.

1550. May 5. Mary and the King's daughters at St Germain-en-Laye. Id., 15,293.

1550. May 25. As above. Do. do. Id., 15,294.

1551. Oct. 30. As above. At Blois. Id., 15,627.

1554. July 10. As above. At Rheims. Id., 15,628.

[2] Lab., i. 23. The celebrated shrine of Nôtre Dame de Liesse is within an easy distance of Marchais, one of the houses of the Cardinal of Lorraine, where Mary resided in 1554. See Lab. i. 25.

into the region of politics. That such should be the case was not only natural but becoming. Herein, when consulted, she expressed her opinion with mingled diffidence and decision; always submitting with an easy and genuine humility her own inexperience to the more matured judgment of her elders. She received letters from the Duke of Châtelherault, and others of the Scottish nobility, which she answered, after having consulted the Cardinal of Guise, whose influence in the direction of her affairs is everywhere visible. Obedient and affectionate as she was, she had the courage to oppose a plan which she had been urged to sanction, even although she knew it to be for the advantage of the Earl of Huntly, and had the approval of her mother.[1]

Along with the expansion of Mary's intellect, her mode of life underwent a corresponding change. She was now permitted to a great extent to follow her own literary tastes, and books ceased to be her only teachers. She discovered the secret of learning by observation, by experience, by conversation, by giving heed

[1] Lab., i. 27.

to the thousand little warnings and suggestions which present themselves in our daily life. Her position in the Court of Paris, lofty though it was, brought her into frequent and familiar converse with the most elegant scholars of the day, for the habits of the age placed prince and professor for a time upon the same social level.

Mary's education in all that related to the poetry and literature of France may be referred to the influence of two authors of acknowledged reputation, with whom she was personally acquainted. These were Brantôme and Ronsard.

Of these two writers we need not wonder that Brantôme[1] should be the better known and the more generally admired; for the sharp and distinct outline and the vivid colouring of the portraits of the men and women of his own period, for which we are indebted to his pen, entitle him to our gratitude. His early acquaintance with the house of Guise (for he served under the Duke) necessarily made him well known to the Queen of Scotland, and he watched her varying fortunes with unchanged interest. When she

[1] Born about 1540, died 15th July 1614.

returned a young widow to her own country, he obtained leave to accompany her, and his recollections of their voyage from Calais to Leith, and the events which followed upon her arrival in Edinburgh, supply us with the most graphic and the most trustworthy impressions of this period of her history. Brantôme lived long enough to chronicle Mary's death and to vindicate her memory. The frequent opportunities which he had enjoyed of listening to her conversation, his familiarity with her tastes and habits, her turn of thought and mode of expression entitle his estimate of anything that she did, wrote or said to our respectful consideration. Having known her as maiden, wife, and mother, he looked with indignant contempt upon the charges brought against her by Buchanan and his followers. Brantôme passed a deliberate judgment upon the verses which Mary is said to have addressed to Bothwell, and his criticism may be considered final. He had the right to express himself with decision, for he was familiar with her poetry. She had shown him some of her verses while they were yet unfinished, and

had consulted him as to their treatment. He was well acquainted with the usual current of her thoughts and the general turn of her expressions; and he emphatically declares that none of these peculiarities of sentiment or diction are to be found in the coarse and vulgar lines of which she is charged of having been the authoress.

As in the case of Brantôme, so in that of Ronsard,[1] a kind of hereditary bond existed between the prince and the poet, and placed them upon terms of kindly intercourse. Originally a page in the household of the Duke of Orleans, Ronsard passed into that of King James the Fifth, with whom he returned into Scotland in the retinue of his first wife, Magdalene of France. He continued with her until her death, after which he seems to have entered the service of Mary of Guise. During the three years which he spent in the Scottish Court, he must have seen many of the principal nobility, and become acquainted with the habits, feelings, and literature of the people. With such qualifications as

[1] Born 10th September 1524, died 27th December 1585. See his Works, ii. 481; iv. 299; vii. 180, edit. Blanchmain, 1860.

these, it must have been easy for Ronsard to appear to advantage in the eyes of Mary Stuart. He could speak with her about her father, whom she had never seen: about her mother, whose memory was so dear to her; about the land of her birth, which she had all but forgotten. Ronsard's high reputation as a poet, already established at the time of which I am writing, made his approval of her girlish compositions to her a source of intense gratification. He admired her talents and he respected her character. This was no passing sentiment: it stood the test of time, of absence, of misfortune. When her sorrows fell heavily upon her, he encouraged her to endure them with faith and resignation. When she was exposed to calumny, he bore testimony to the falsity of the charge brought against her by joining with Brantôme in denouncing as forgeries the verses which she is accused of having addressed to Bothwell. Mary was not ungrateful. Twenty-five years after she had last seen Ronsard she contrived to send him out of her scanty income, through Nau, her secretary, a gift of plate to the value of two

thousand crowns. One of the pieces represented Parnassus; it was in the form of a rock, from which issued a fountain, and it bore an inscription, in which the former pupil addressed her old master as "the Apollo of France."[1]

We have seen that at a very early period of her life Mary had distinguished herself by the grace and power with which she had recited one of her own compositions before a large audience. She was encouraged to cultivate a talent which necessarily would prove of great advantage to her in the transaction of public business; and an author from her own neighbourhood furnished her with a manual for studying the art of Rhetoric. The little volume drawn up by Antoine Fouquelin for her use, and dedicated to her, gives a useful summary of the principles of that science, which he illustrates chiefly from the best writers of Greece and Rome. The author describes himself as of Chauny (Aisne),

[1] "A Ronsard, l'Apollon de la source des Muses." Coste, ii. 508. Brantôme speaks of a poet named L'Huillier, seigneur de Maison-Fleur, as an especial favourite with Mary. Very little is known of this writer, whose poems seem never to have attracted much notice, possibly from the fact that they are chiefly of a religious character.

a near neighbour therefore to the patrimony of the Guises. He had heard of Mary's power and elegance in the art of declamation, and refers to the remarkable oration which she made before Henry, and the universal admiration which it excited.[1]

A pleasant though brief interview with the young Queen, as she appeared in 1555, is afforded us by the journal of the Bishop of Ely and the Viscount Montague. On their way to Rome in that year they visited Fontainebleau, and were anxious to be admitted to the presence of one who, as they thought, not improbably might become their own sovereign. By the kindness of certain Scottish gentlemen, the wishes of the English travellers were conveyed to Mary, "who, being told of their desire to see her, immediately she very courteously came forth out of her privy chamber into her chamber of presence amongst us all, calling us her countrymen."[2]

[1] The Preface is dated at Paris, 12th May 1555, and the privilege prefixed gives 30th September 1550 as the day when it was granted. The work was revised and printed at Paris in 1557. A copy of this rare little volume is in the British Museum.

[2] MS. Harl., 252, pr. in Hardwick's State Papers, i. 68.

Mary Stuart was now approaching the age of early womanhood, and the interests of France required that the marriage which should unite Scotland with that realm ought no longer to be delayed. The necessary arrangements were hurried on accordingly. A letter from King Henry to the Estates of Scotland was laid before them, in which he invited them to send deputies to Paris, there to witness the marriage of their Queen with his son, the Dauphin. The proposal was most cordially accepted by the Estates, which appointed a commission fully authorised to give the national consent to the union.[1] When the Scottish envoys arrived in the French Court, they were received with the most marked distinction, and the same respect was shown to them during the whole of their visit. These envoys took care that the legal instruments which were to secure to Scotland her laws, her liberties, and her privileges, should be executed

[1] Henry's invitation to send the Scottish Commissioners is dated 30th October 1557. See B. M. Addit. MSS. 30,666, fol. 236; Keith i. 348. The original Commission, sealed with eighteen seals, is preserved in the French Archives, J. 680, n. 67; Labanoff, i. 46.

with due legal precision. To all appearance the two nations were now welded together into one by a bond which could never be broken.

In the midst of these arrangements, so fair and honourable externally, occurred a transaction which, however painful to notice, cannot be passed over in silence. It presents a combination of fraud and folly, which Bishop Keith describes as truly "choaking." A few days before the marriage of this unsuspecting girl, she was induced privately (or rather secretly) to sign three documents, the legal effect of which was probably unknown to her. By the first of these deeds, she makes over the realm of Scotland by free gift to the King of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, in the event of her own death without issue, together with all the rights thereunto appertaining. By the second, she assigns to him possession of the realm of Scotland, until he shall have repaid himself one million of gold, or any greater sum by him expended on the defence of the same, or on Mary's personal expenses or education during

her residence in France; and by the third,—after reciting, that although she may sign a declaration touching the lineal succession of her crown—she protests that the real and genuine sense and intention of her mind is contained only in the two previous instruments.[1]

It is not easy to speak with due severity of the wickedness of such a fraudulent transaction, and it is difficult to understand for what purpose it could have been intended. It was a foolish device, as well as a wicked one. These donations, or bequests, could never have been enforced, and the attempt to do so would have involved France in a calamitous warfare. A coalition between Spain and England against such pretensions would have been the necessary result of the production at any time of these documents. We regret that Mary should have lent herself to become a party in this iniquitous affair; but some extenuation may perhaps be found for her conduct.

[1] See these documents (dated at Fontainebleau, 4th April 1558) in the Correspondance diplomatique of Lamothe Fenelon, i. 425 (1838), Labanoff, i. 50; and B. M. Addit. MSS., 30,666, fol. 236.

She was young, she was inexperienced, she yielded to the arguments of friends whom she loved, and by whose advice she was habitually guided, and she gave her name to these papers, which she had been taught to believe were not only legal, but legally due to France and Scotland.

The final preparations for the marriage of the young couple now advanced with rapidity. The contracting parties being related in the fourth degree, Cardinal Trivulce gave the necessary dispensation. The bride's mother and the bride herself appointed the Dowager Duchess of Guise to act as the representative of the Queen of Scotland in all matters connected with the marriage.[1] Mary had for her dower the usufruct of the Duchy of Touraine, and the Comté of Poitou. On 19th April 1558, the preliminary act of betrothal took place in the great hall of the Louvre, and on the following Sunday (24th April),

[1] Some curious papers connected with the dispensation may be seen in B. M. Addit. MSS., 30,666, fol. 114-228, b. For other papers connected with the marriage, see the same volume, fol. 228, b.; and Teulet, i. 312.

the marriage itself was celebrated with great splendour, in the Cathedral Church of Nôtre Dame. The management of these elaborate festivities was entrusted to the Duke of Guise. The religious ceremonial was conducted with unusual pomp; there being present the Cardinals of Guise, Lorraine, Bourbon, Sens, Meudon and Lenoncourt, the Papal Legate Trivulce, the Bishop of Paris, the Kings and Queens of France and Navarre, together with nobles innumerable. The bride was conducted into the church by King Henry and the Duke of Guise. Her dress is described as having been of blue velvet, trimmed with white, and it is scarcely necessary to add that she excited universal admiration.[1]

Throughout the whole of these transactions, the honour and the interests of Scotland were guarded with watchful jealousy. Henry having expressed to the Estates his wish that the marriage of their Queen with his son should

[1] A detailed account of the whole ceremony is given in Teulet, i. 302. Another, printed at Paris in 1558, was reprinted by the Roxburgh Club in 1818. See also Cimbers, Archives, 1 série, iii. 249, and Godefrey, Ceremonial, fol. Paris, 1649.

take place with the least possible delay, the Scottish Parliament appointed nine commissioners to carry to Paris the national approval of the union of their nation with France. These were Beton, Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Ross and Orkney, the Earls of Rothes and Cassillis, James Stuart, Commendator of St Andrews (Mary's base brother), Lords Fleming and Seton, and John Erskine of Dun. Many of them belonged to the party of the Reformation. They were instructed to obtain from the Queen and Dauphin a full recognition of the national independence, laws and liberties. These conditions having been complied with, the nuptials were completed in their presence, and with their entire sanction. On the return of such of their number as escaped the fatal epidemic, which broke out among them on their homeward journey, they reported their proceedings to the assembled Estates, by whom all that they had done was fully sanctioned and confirmed.[1]

The few weeks which the newly-married

[1] Acta Parl., ii. 504-7.

couple was permitted to spend together probably formed the happiest period in the life of Mary Stuart. They were passed at Villers-Coterets, a secluded residence at no great distance from Soissons. But this honeymoon soon waned, and a second never appeared in the horizon of her life. A letter from the young bride to her mother, tells us that in the month of September which followed her marriage, her husband had been called away from her to join the camp which had been formed near Amiens. Matrimony had not altered Mary's deference and affection towards her mother, combined with which we notice in this letter a ready submission to the wishes of her husband, and a kindly interest in the welfare of her dependents.

During the course of the following November (1558) an incident occurred which brought Mary's name prominently before the whole of Europe, and invested it with a political importance of which it never could afterwards be deprived. On the 17th of that month

[1] Lab., i. 58. See also pp. 26, 31, 43, 61.

died Mary Tudor, Queen of England, who was succeeded by her half-sister Elizabeth, whose title to the throne was considered invalid by the majority of her subjects. They objected against her that not only was she a heretic, but that she was born out of lawful wedlock, therefore incompetent to succeed; and that the true heir to the crown was Mary Stuart. Mary's claim was warmly supported by the King of France, by the house of Guise, and by nearly all the Catholic population of England and Scotland. An attempt was made to induce the Pope to support these pretensions; but acting with its usual caution, the Holy See declined to interfere in a political question. Elizabeth soon discovered the steps which were taken by France to her disadvantage, and resented them accordingly. By the irresistible power of circumstances, Mary was thus forced into an attitude of apparent hostility towards her cousin, which she did not seek, and which, had she been left to herself, she probably would have avoided. But she was not permitted to recede. She was proclaimed Queen of England;

she was made to adopt that title in the official acts which issued from her Chancery; and the English royal arms, added to her own, were engraved on her plate, and embroidered on her heraldic bearings.

This public assertion of her claim was naturally assumed to imply that she meant to vindicate her right to the English succession. It became still more conspicuous to the world, and still more formidable to Elizabeth, by an accident which seated Mary's husband upon the throne of France, and consequently placed the French crown upon the head of his wife. In the midst of the "triumphs" which were preparatory to the marriage of one of his daughters, King Henry met with an accident which resulted in his death. In tilting with the Count de Montgomery, the broken lance of his antagonist "hitting the king in the face, gave him such a counterbuff as drove a splinter into his head," says the English ambassador Throckmorton, who was present on the occasion.[1] The king,

[1] Throckmorton to the Privy Council, R. O. Foreign, No. 902; Forbes, i. 109; Villeville, ii. 414.

after lingering through a week of agony, became insensible, and on the 10th of July death ended his sufferings. The vacant throne belonged by descent to his son, Francis the Second, and Mary Stuart became Queen of France and Scotland.

CHAPTER VI.

MARY STUART AS QUEEN OF FRANCE.

BY the death of Henry the Second, the government of the realm of France passed into the hands of a puny boy of fifteen years of age, who held its sceptre in his feeble grasp for somewhat less than eighteen months. During the reign of Francis the Second the history of his wife, Queen Mary, is so merged in that of her husband that she rarely comes before us in her personal character. As we shall now be permitted to see her but from a distance and at unfrequent intervals, we must endeavour to make the best of these opportunities when they occur. In the events which are about to follow, we shall seldom recognise her as the

actor, generally as the spectator, and always as the victim.

Like almost every other country in Europe, at this time, France was suffering from internal divisions, occasioned by differences in religion. If it had escaped from the inroads of Luther, it gave a ready admission to the disciples of Calvin. During the reign of Henry the Second the new doctrines of Geneva were adopted by no less exalted a personage than Margaret, sister of Francis the First, and afterwards Queen of Navarre. She was a woman of dubious morality, and is known chiefly as the author of tales of an objectionable character. She had embraced that form of philosophy which begins in speculative doubt and ends in practical unbelief. Her residence at Nerac became the shelter for those rebellious spirits who found in it a place of refuge from the laws by which otherwise they would have been punished. In the Court of Paris itself, even under the eyes of the sovereign, heretical opinions were fostered by the Duchess d'Etampes, one of the royal mistresses. She and the Queen of Navarre caused an amended edition

of the Missal to be issued, by which we may ascertain the changes which they wished to introduce into the national religion. It forbade private Masses; it ruled that both the Elevation and Adoration of the Eucharist should be suppressed, and that Communion in both kinds should be everywhere considered imperative. Ordinary household bread alone was to be used at the altar. No mention was to be made of our Blessed Lady, or of the Saints, during Mass. Priests were no longer to be debarred from marriage.

For long such opinions as these had been circulated without attracting much attention in the larger manufacturing and commercial towns, such as Rouen and Lyons; but at length their real meaning and necessary results became known, and excited alarm. Towards the end of his reign, Henry the Second treated the preachers of these novelties with such sharpness that the accident which caused his death was regarded by the Calvinists as a token of God's righteous anger and just vengeance. Still the hidden fire smouldered on, without either burst-

ing into an open flame or being entirely extinguished.

But the reformation of the sixteenth century, as it was understood in France as well as in England, meant something more than a change in what a man believed. It had two sides; its political side as well as its religious. For instance, it affirmed that a true Christian man is subject to no one but Christ, and that to make laws and to rule by laws is proper only to God. In thus teaching, if consistent, it deprived all superiors, temporal and spiritual, of all power to legislate for their subjects. Each of its followers claimed for himself liberty to reject all control inconsistent with what he was pleased to consider his liberty. The more zealous ones among the brethren did not hesitate to resort to arms to overthrow whatever government was (in their opinion) opposed to the written Word of God. "Since the time of Calvin," writes Bancroft, one of the Protestant Archbishops of Canterbury, "it has been a principle with some of the chief ministers of Geneva, that if kings and princes refuse to reform religion, the inferior

magistrates and people, by direction of the ministry, might lawfully, and ought, if need required it, even by force of arms, to reform themselves." [1]

The Reformation, then, as it was understood among the professors of the Genevan party, meant a change not only in the Church but the State also, and this could not be effected without a revolution. The question touched Mary Stuart very closely, and at more points than one. She was Queen of Scotland and Queen of France, into both of which realms the disciples of Calvin were endeavouring to introduce their peculiar opinions. Mary was a Catholic, and therefore

[1] Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 9, ed. 1596. Christopher Goodman maintained "that it is not sufficient for subjects not to obey the wicked commandments of their wicked princes, but they are bound to withstand them also; that if magistrates transgress God's laws and command others to do the like, then they have lost the honour and obedience due to them, and ought no more to be deemed to be magistrates, but to be examined, accused, condemned, and punished as private transgressors." These passages are taken from his treatise, "How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed," Geneva, 1558. This Goodman was colleague to Knox at Geneva, and came with him into Scotland in 1559. See M'Crie's "Life of Knox," p. 139, ed. 1872. In so teaching, these reformers were doing nothing more than echoing the doctrines of Calvin; see his Instit. I., cap. xvii., sec. 5; xviii., secs. 1, 2.

they looked upon her as an enemy. A little encouragement from Elizabeth was all that was needed to convert every single reformer into an antagonist of the Queen of France and Scotland. Thus the two women, who ought to have been friends, were forced into active opposition; and the hostility between them from this moment becomes a principle of action. With Mary it had intervals of slumber, but with Elizabeth it was as sleepless as Cerberus.

One of the most immediate results of the death of Henry the Second was the ascendency of the house of Guise. Francis the Second, amiable and weak, was under the dominion of his wife, and in all things she was directed by her uncles, the Duke and the Cardinal of Guise. In civil matters the Duke's great reputation gave him a deserved influence; while in all matters connected with the Church, the Cardinal, supported as he generally was by the Holy See, reigned almost supreme in France.[1] It may be

[1] When the Cardinal returned from Rome in 1560, Pope Pius IV. sent by him a letter to Queen Mary, in which he speaks of her uncle in terms of the highest commendation. It is dated

said, almost without exaggeration, that the two brothers ruled that kingdom during the entire reign of their niece. They made no secret of their principles, which (as far as our history is concerned) may be summed up in two propositions; intolerance of Protestantism in general, and a special dislike to its representative in England, Elizabeth Tudor.

On the other hand, the Calvinists had several exponents of their cause in the French Court. Of these the most eminent in point of rank was Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, and father of the great Henry the Fourth. But he was deficient in moral force; he was inconstant and irresolute, easily persuaded and easily intimidated. He was half-hearted in his profession of Calvinism; during a large part of his life he was a Reformer by name, and a Catholic by practice, and on the approach of death he returned to the faith of his childhood. His brother, Louis, Prince of Condé, was a more

24th January 1560, and may be seen in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, arm. xliv. tom. x. n. 18. On his arrival in France the Cardinal assumed the entire control of the religious affairs of that kingdom.

consistent Huguenot, but his private character would not bear investigation. The acknowledged leader of the movement was Gaspard de Coligny, of whose courage and capacity there can be only one opinion. Numerically weak, the Calvinistic party was actually strong, for it was united, well organised and resolute. And it had need for all these advantages, for on the other side was the crown of France, supported by a large majority of the clergy, the nobles and the people; all of whom were prepared to defend the faith and the constitution which they had inherited from St Louis and Charlemagne.

Conscious of their numerical inferiority, and having no acknowledged leader, the Huguenots resolved to temporise, and await a more favourable opportunity. The headquarters of the body were removed to Geneva, where conspirators could meet in safety and deliberate upon their cherished design for a great revolution in France, which as yet they had not the means to carry into execution. But at this juncture they received an unexpected offer of assistance

from Queen Elizabeth,[1] who had lately succeeded to the throne of England. The offer, of which they understood the value, was thankfully accepted, and the drooping energies of the Reformers now revived. A conspiracy upon a most comprehensive scale was planned at Geneva, of which the execution was entrusted to an associate named La Renaudie, who now returned into France in order to carry it into effect.

But why should Elizabeth make such an offer? What could be the motive which should induce one crowned head to foster rebellion within the realm of another?

For many reasons Elizabeth did not love Mary. The old prejudices of race, nationality, and religion were still active, to which might be added others of a personal nature. Mary was French by family, by education, by affection, and Elizabeth dreaded the power of France, and therefore hated it. Mary was a Catholic;

[1] The King of Navarre was informed by Throckmorton, the English Ambassador in France, that his mistress would gladly join with him (the king) in an alliance which shall have religion for its object. See R. O., 22d August 1559, Foreign.

whereas Elizabeth had now declared herself to be a Protestant, although until very recently she had professed the faith and practised the worship of the Catholic religion. Mary had openly assumed the royal arms of England, together with the royal style and title of its sovereign, thereby proclaiming to the world her belief that Elizabeth was a usurper.[1] It was somewhat difficult, however, for Elizabeth to gratify her dislike. England was at peace with France and Scotland, over both of which Mary was the recognised sovereign, and against which, therefore, no overt act of hostility could be directed. But the fertile craft of Cecil, the English Prime Minister, soon discovered a safe and silent method of escaping from the difficulty. The plan was a simple one. Let Elizabeth secretly help the Huguenots, not with men, but with money, and France could be crippled and para-

[1] Shortly after the accession of Elizabeth, it was reported in London, that the Pope was about to proclaim her to be illegitimate, and to give the crown to Mary of Scotland. See the letter from the Count of Feria to King Philip the Second, dated London, 29th December 1558, printed from the Archives of Simancas in the Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de L'Angleterre, i. 365, by the Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove.

lysed without knowing whence or by whom the blow had been struck. It was a cheap way of making war, a war which could be carried on in the dark, and about which the Queen of England need know nothing. If charged with helping the insurgents she might deny it stoutly, and who could prove it? Even if the proofs against her should be forthcoming, she might protest that the assistance had been given without her knowledge and against her approval. A bold front and a few brave words would clear her of all responsibility. The project was admirably adapted to the standard of the Queen's morality, and she gladly accepted the proposal. It enabled her to enjoy in undisturbed retirement the society of her favourite, Robert Dudley; and Cecil busied himself in putting into execution a design for which his long experience in treason and treachery fitted him so admirably. Let us see how it worked; and first of all in France.

A fitting agent was soon found in the person of Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, a personage whom we shall frequently meet in the progress of this

history. He was one of the younger sons of a good family, from the ancestral faith of which he had departed, and along with his new creed had embraced such revolutionary doctrines as at an earlier period of his life had nearly cost him his head.[1] Of his admirable qualifications for the office of English Ambassador in France, there can be no doubt. He had resided for a considerable time in that country, and was familiar with its politics, its plots and its parties. He was adroit and plausible in the management of business, thoroughly unscrupulous as to the means he used to gain his end; skilled in the tortuous intrigues of the Court, and cool and courageous in danger. In religion a freethinker, in politics all but a republican, he was well adapted to ingratiate himself with the leaders of the present French conspiracy, and he did his work with a single eye to the interests of his mistress. In many respects he was Cecil's equal, and in some his superior.

[1] See "Queen Jane and Queen Mary" (Camden Society), pp. 63, 75. In 1554 he had thrown himself upon the mercy of Mary Tudor (see R. O. Foreign Cal., p. 96), and seems to have been received into the confidence of her Government.

Francis the Second ascended the throne on the 10th of July 1559, and on the 18th of the same month we find Cecil deliberating "what is to be done in France for the maintenance of the faction."[1] He was not long kept in suspense, for Throckmorton, who at this time was resident in Paris, had already anticipated the designs of his royal mistress. He looked for "some alteration here" in France, the result of the action of the King of Navarre, whom the revolutionary party regarded at this time as the leading spirit of the movement. But they were mistaken in their hero. While every moment was of vital importance, Anthony lingered on his journey from Vendôme to Paris, and it was not until the 22d of August that he and the English ambassador had a conference. Before using the tool, Cecil wanted to know of what metal it was made. The meeting took place at St Denis about eleven at night, and was resumed on the following evening.[2] Throckmorton explained to the King of Navarre the nature of the Queen's plans for the overthrow of the French Govern-

[1] R. O. Foreign Cal., 1008. [2] Id. 1244.

ment as it then existed. It was to be thorough. A change in the dynasty was a political necessity; a change in the religion was a sacred duty. Anthony was reminded that he was the nearest heir to the throne, which Elizabeth hoped soon to see vacant. Had he the courage to claim his rights and to fight for them? He might count upon the assistance of his assured friend the Queen of England, and supported by her his success would be neither doubtful nor difficult.

The King of Navarre wavered and hesitated. He would take time to consider. He would not commit himself to the expression of any definite opinion. He was too ambitious to say No; he was too timid to say Yes. He admitted that the Queen's proposal corresponded with his own private wishes; but there were difficulties in the way which she had not fully considered, and these should form the subject-matter of a despatch which ere long should reach Her Majesty.

Throckmorton was disappointed and so was Cecil. Obviously this was not the man to lead an insurrection, and to snatch the crown from the head of a reigning sovereign. Some other

plan must be devised and some other tool must be discovered. The French Ambassador was called home, and for three months he and Cecil deliberated, discussed, and decided the outline of the future insurrection. That insurrection was the notable conspiracy of Amboise, which owes its existence to the zeal of the French Huguenots, stimulated to action by the agency of Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, and supported by the covert aid of Elizabeth.

The execution of the outbreak was entrusted to the personage by whom it had originally been planned—a gentleman named La Renaudie. Leaving Geneva he returned in disguise to France, where he spent some months in visiting such districts as he hoped would be favourable to his designs. Ostensibly these designs aimed only at a moderate reform, nothing more than to obtain liberty of conscience for the profession of Calvinism, and the removal of the Guises from the Government; but they covered a revolution of a very different character. The Guises were to be arrested, and massacred if they offered the least resistance; the King and

Queen were to be seized, and their fate reserved for future consideration; Calvinism was to become the one established religion of France,—the Catholic faith was to be declared illegal, and a change was to be made which would set aside the fundamental law of monarchy. In order to secure perfect unity with England, La Renaudie visited Elizabeth, who secretly favoured the spirit of revolt which reigned among the French Calvinists. He was instructed by his co-religionists to obtain from her the loan of a small sum of ready money; and, in furtherance of their scheme, he urged her to promote the outbreak of an insurrection in Scotland, similar to that which was about to declare itself in France under the leaders of the party of the Huguenots.[1]

On the return of La Renaudie to France, the arrangements for the rebellion were conducted with renewed spirit. The supreme leadership of the whole conspiracy was offered to the

[1] In the details of this affair I have chiefly followed the information given by Throckmorton in his Correspondence and the Mémoires de Condé, tom. i. p. 321-448, both of which are strongly biassed in favour of the Reformers.

Prince of Condé, apparently by the suggestion of Elizabeth, under the advice of Throckmorton. Condé accepted it, but with one remarkable condition. He bargained that his name should not be mentioned until he should himself think it necessary, so that if successful he might claim the advantage; if it failed he could escape the danger.[1] This singular proposal was accepted; Condé was the nominal chief, but the moving spirit in the whole transaction was La Renaudie.

Barry de la Renaudie[2] had all the qualities requisite in a successful conspirator, save one; he had courage, eloquence, acuteness, perseverance, but he had not the gift of prudence. He could not keep his own counsel. He entrusted the secret of the intended rising to a friend in Paris, who, terrified by the magnitude of the intended revolution, revealed the whole affair to the Cardinal of Guise, who lost no time in carrying the information to the Duke, his brother.

[1] He had announced, very prudently for himself, that he would make his appearance at the moment of the capture of the Guises. Matthieu, Hist., p. 80, ed. 1559.

[2] Concerning him, see the Mémoires de Condé, i. 332.

The soldier who had defended Metz, and won Calais from the English, was not the man to be taken by surprise. Vague reports of the approaching danger had reached him from time to time, which he appears to have disregarded; but when the truth of the information could no longer be doubted, he acted with his usual coolness and promptitude. Without alarming the Court, he ordered that it should be removed from Blois to Amboise, a position of greater security, and there he calmly awaited the attack of the insurgents. The suspense was of no long duration. As they came up in separate detachments, according to the plan upon which they had agreed to act, they were attacked in detail by the Royalists. Some were killed upon the spot, a few escaped by flight, and many were executed as traitors, without trial. La Renaudie died sword in hand. Condé does not appear to advantage. He frequently and solemnly denied all complicity in the outbreak, and joined the troops who were employed in suppressing it. The execution of the prisoners was conducted with a severity which has thrown

a shadow upon the reputation of the great Duke. But he had something to say in his defence. It was a painful duty, he admitted, but it was a duty from which he could not escape. This armed conspiracy aimed at the murder of the King and Queen of France, the overthrow of the existing constitution, and a radical change in Church and State. Francis interceded, but in vain, for the pardon of the criminals, and whenever he had the means of doing so, he treated them with laudable forbearance. "Of fifty persons who were captured at one time, for the most part artificers, all (excepting four of the chiefest) were dismissed and pardoned; to every one of whom, for that they had been spoiled, the King gave a crown a-piece, and to one who was hurt in the head five crowns."

Although the immediate danger had passed, the Guises and their adherents were persuaded that they had not yet fathomed the full depth of the conspiracy. They thought, however, that they had traced it to its origin. The Cardinal of Lorraine informed the English ambas-

sador that the plot had its beginning in Geneva, and a letter from Elizabeth's agent at Strasburg tends to confirm the accuracy of this impression. Some weeks before the plot was discovered, he was asked, under promise of secrecy, whether the Queen would assist the French in abating the persecutions of the Guises; and he answered that, under certain circumstances, in his opinion, she would not be wanting in kind offices. It has been affirmed by a modern historian of high reputation, that La Renaudie received from the Queen of England herself the assurance of her good wishes for the success of his enterprise, and the promise of her support.[1]

Not satisfied with attacking Mary Stuart through the Huguenots of France, Elizabeth and her advisers determined upon striking a blow through the Calvinists of Scotland. The success of the Reformation demanded that this latter kingdom should separate itself from

[1] See Lingard, vi. 24. He quotes no authority; but he was too careful a writer to have hazarded such an assertion without having what he supposed to be sufficient proof.

Catholic France, and unite itself with Protestant England. But a revolution of such magnitude could not be effected so long as Mary—a Frenchwoman and a Papist—held her present position. To remove her became, therefore, an unavoidable necessity.

It will be remembered that at this time both countries were under one and the same government; the Queen of France was Queen of Scotland. There was also a marked similarity in their condition, as well in politics as in religion. The two brothers of Guise were at the head of affairs in France; their sister, the Queen Dowager, exercised the same authority in Scotland. In both countries the Reformers aimed at a revolution which should transfer the crown from a Catholic to a Calvinist; and in both they sought to give their rebellion the semblance of respectability, by placing at its head some individual who should be as nearly connected as possible with the family then on the throne. In France the offer had been made to the King of Navarre; in Scotland the like temptation was now held out to the Earl of

Arran. The scene is changed, but the leading idea of the plot remains unaltered.[1]

James Hamilton, third Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Châtelherault, Governor of Scotland, went into France about the year 1554, where the King gave him the command of the Scottish Guard. Failing Mary Stuart, her crown would devolve upon the family of which he was the heir; hence the importance attached to him by the Privy Council of England. His position corresponded to that of the King of Navarre. Each had pretensions to a throne which was not vacant. To urge these pretensions would lead to discord, and probably to civil war. The temptation had failed with King Anthony; perhaps it might be more successful with the House of Hamilton. The experience was worth the trial, and Throckmorton was instructed to make it.

When this visionary crown of Scotland was

[1] When the Regent Hamilton resigned his office as Governor of Scotland to the Queen Dowager in 1551, he received from the King of France the title of Duke of Châtelherault, with a pension. France thus became a second home to the house of Hamilton.

dangled before Arran's imagination, he was resident upon the family estates at Châtelherault. He had already embraced the doctrines of the Reformation,[1] which he had assiduously been engaged in propagating in the neighbourhood.[2] The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the King of Spain was about to be celebrated with great pomp at the Court of Paris, and Arran was summoned to be present in his official capacity. As he neglected to appear, a citation in terms yet more urgent was forwarded to him; but before it could be served he had fled from Châtelherault, with whom, why, and whither, was a mystery.[3] He pretended afterwards that

[1] On 21st June, a few days before he received his death wound, Henry instructed his Ambassador in England how to proceed in the matter of Arran's flight. He should complain that Arran had caused infinite scandal at Châtelherault, where he had seduced many of the people from the faith. Being admonished, he had fled, it was thought, into England. As he had taken the oath of allegiance to Henry, he is a French subject, and as such he is to be claimed from England, according to the treaty. Let him be arrested and sent back to France, special care being taken that he does not escape into Scotland, where his presence would be most dangerous. Henry the Second to Noailles, 21st June, MS., Bodl. Carte, 88.

[2] Beza, Hist., i. 200. Languet (Epp., ii. 2) says that he had caused the doctrines of the Reformation to be taught at Poitiers, first in French, and afterwards in Scotch. [3] Cal., 868, secs. 16-18.

his life had been in danger "by the cruelty of the Guises," but of this he produced no evidence whatever. We must look elsewhere for the reason of his sudden flight, and it is not hard to find. He was needed at home to head the insurrectionary movement in Scotland; Cecil invited him to leave France, and he accepted the invitation.

Arran's homeward journey from Châtelherault was not without its dangers. To escape by any of the French seaports was all but impossible, and he knew that every vessel which sailed from Flanders would be searched by the officers of the King of Spain. But his route had been carefully studied and settled weeks beforehand by Cecil; and the Queen of England herself had made his safety the subject of more than one dispatch. She had instructed Throckmorton "to devise the most secret and speedy way, to convey him from Geneva either into England, or to his father in Scotland, where he shall think himself in most safety. He should not come into the possessions of the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Bishops,

Papists, or others confederate with the French. It shall in no wise appear who he is in all his journey, not to his most assured. Because Flanders and the Bass Countries are dangerous to him, it is thought that Embden is the best passage. On his arrival in England, he shall continue unknown, as he did before, until the Queen's pleasure is understood."[1] Throckmorton had been provided by the penurious Elizabeth with a thousand crowns, to be expended on the journey. Thus encouraged and protected, Arran set out upon his return to Scotland. We may judge of the importance which Elizabeth attached to his presence, by the trouble and the cost which she was willing to incur in order to secure it.

A glance at the map of France will show that the fugitive had a long ride before him. The Earl's guard, as far as Geneva, was a person named Randall (or Randolph), who

[1] R. O., Foreign, 998, 999, 1009, 1043. The Earl was at Lausanne on 6th July, R. O., 1004. Throckmorton was told that on his way to Geneva he had endured many privations, hiding himself for fifteen days in a wood, and living upon fruit. Id. 1075.

having been implicated in various conspiracies against Mary Queen of England, was now—almost as a matter of course—employed and favoured by her sister Elizabeth. At Geneva, the responsibility passed from him into the hands of Richard Tremain,[1] who conducted Arran across Germany, with the language of which he was familiar. The port at which they embarked, and where they landed, was a profound mystery. But the journey was successfully accomplished, and the object of so much tender solicitude was safely lodged in Cecil's private residence in Westminster on the 29th of August. During the course of the following day he had a secret interview with the Queen in the garden at Hampton Court. It is probable that upon this occasion the "offer" which Arran had previously made to Cecil was renewed, discussed, and settled between him and Elizabeth. From later information, we learn that the terms then proposed

[1] He was one of the Tremains who had been employed in carrying messages between the Prince of Condé and the Admiral of Châtillon and Elizabeth. See Froude, vi. 397.

and accepted between them were to the following effect:—that she should help the Scots to free themselves from subjection to France, and cause Arran to be crowned King of Scotland: that he, with the consent of the Lords, would hold that realm of her, and her successors, by an annual payment; and that in token of this superiority, she and her successors might place the arms of Scotland under those of England. The Earl then received a present of five or six hundred crowns for his journey, and took his leave. He was furnished with letters of protection (in which he is mentioned under a false name), a guide was furnished for him, and the disguised conspirator, traitor and fugitive reached Berwick at an opportune moment. Sadler and Croftes, Elizabeth's agents for the revolution in Scotland, were at that very time closeted with Balnaves, who had been sent by the Lords of the Congregation to arrange their future line of action. Arran having been permitted to join the conference, entered heartily into the feelings and designs of the conspirators. That same evening he resumed his journey, and

before break of day had reached his father's house at Hamilton. [1]

The Earl's arrival had been long and anxiously expected in Scotland, for much depended upon it for the success of the insurrectionary movement. The Duke, his father, had grown lukewarm in the cause, and was fast losing the confidence of his party. His inability to lead a popular outbreak, which probably would end in a civil war, was daily becoming more and more evident, not only to others, but to himself. He made no secret of his wish to see his son in his place, who, as he said, "might take the matter in hand, if he list." The stability of the whole movement seemed to depend upon the presence of Arran. More than once Croftes had assured Cecil that "without the Earl they were not able to lay any foundation whereby their proceedings are like to have any continuance." Knox had approved the arrangement which placed Arran at the head of the Lords of the Congregation. The Earl joyfully accepted the position thus assigned to him, and he en-

[1] See R. O. Cal. 524 note; 1008, 1046, 1119, 1221, 1383.

tered upon what he considered its duties with a zeal worthy of a better cause.[1]

Encouraged by the protection of England, and the presence of Arran, the party of the Reformation now threw off all disguise and broke out into open rebellion. They proceeded in their crusade against superstition with a rapidity which carried all before it. In Perth they broke down and burned the images, the altars, and all monuments of idolatry, and within twenty-four hours they made bare walls. Journeying from place to place, "where they found in their way any kirks or chapels incontinent they purged them, breaking down the altars and idols in all places where they came." At St Andrews "they fell to work to purge the kirk and break down the altars and images and all kinds of idolatry; and before

[1] There is much talk, write Sadler and Croftes to Cecil, of the forwardness of the Earl of Arran, who rides to and fro from Hamilton, Stirling, and St. Andrews with 700 or 800 horse, of which 300 are of the name of Hamilton (Cal., 73). Randolph adds his testimony to the same effect. The Earl, says he, in a letter to Sadler (Cal., 159), is so disposed to the utter overthrow of the French, that he will be found rather too forward than too slow. He desires neither life, nor to show his face amongst men, unless he can bring this enterprise to some good effect.

the sun was down, there was never an inch standing but bare walls." They purged the kirks of Stirling, destroying the altars and idols; and in Edinburgh nothing pertaining to idolatry was left standing. They suppressed the abbeys of Paisley, Kilwinning, and Dunfermline, and burned all the idols, images, and popish stuff. Knox himself records with grim satisfaction how "the abbey of Lundores was reformed; their altars overthrown; their idols, vestments of idolatry, and mass books were burnt in their own presence; and they commanded to cast away their monkish habits." The manner of their proceeding in reformation, as described by one of their party, is this:— "They pull down all manner of friaries and some abbeys, which willingly received not their reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no mass be said in them." They desired "a general reformation throughout the whole realm, to be made conform to the pure word of God," and the Frenchmen to be sent away. These

were their terms, and if the Queen Regent will not be content with this, they are determined to hear of no agreement. These few cases may be taken as illustrative of the violence, havoc, and sacrilege which was introduced by these self-constituted reformers, and which under their influence reigned supreme for a time over the whole kingdom. In the course of a single year, not one religious house was left standing in Scotland.[1]

No less sweeping and radical was the revolution effected by the Lords of the Congregation in the political government of the kingdom. They submitted to the Queen Dowager, for her acceptance, certain articles which were subversive of both Church and State as then constituted by recognised authority. She refused to give them her sanction, whereupon "the nobility and commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland" deprived her of her authority, and denounced her as an enemy to the commonwealth. They appointed a council, of which

[1] See Miscell. of the Wodrow Society, pp. 57-61; Knox's Works, vi. 26, 36; R. O. Cal., 877, 907, 111, 120, 124, 132, 140.

the Duke and Arran were the leaders. They advertised Elizabeth of their proceedings, for without her advice they were desirous to do nothing. In order to invest these doings with some semblance of legal authority, they summoned a Parliament, which met in the course of the summer. In the opinion of Randolph, a more substantial or sufficient body of men had not been chosen for many a year. It accepted and confirmed "The Confession of the Faith and doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of the realm of Scotland," which was supplemented by two Acts, one against the mass, the other abolishing the jurisdiction of the Pope. It further directed that these proceedings should be sent into France, there to receive the sanction and confirmation of Queen Mary.[1]

[1] First printed Edinb. 1561. Knox's Hist. ii., 93, 123, 124. Cecil's activity in the matter appears by a letter addressed to him by Maitland, whence we learn that the draft of the Act accepted by the Scottish Parliament had been drawn up by the English Secretary. See Cal., 496. And further, he was consulted whether there was anything in the Confession of Faith which he misliked, that it may be changed, if the matter so permit. Cal., 523. It is instructive to find that the infallibility of the Pope was succeeded by the infallibility of the English Secretary of State.

The ambassador chosen for this purpose was an individual who (as was well known) must of necessity be unacceptable to the Queen. James Sandilands, Preceptor of Torphichen (the chief house of the Knights Hospitalers of St John of Jerusalem), was a zealous reformer; and though in Holy Orders in the Catholic Church, was a married man. He was in no haste to discharge his mission, and did not leave Scotland until the end of September. He reached London on the 6th of October, and left on the 8th. At the time of his arrival in France, the Court was at Orleans, where he had his interview with the King on the 16th of November. Francis did not conceal his displeasure at the proceedings of the Estates, and said that he would cause a lawful Parliament to be assembled in Edinburgh. Pressure of business, however, prevented him from giving an official reply at the time, but it was promised with the least delay possible.

While the Scottish envoy was awaiting the promised interview, it happened that Throckmorton had an opportunity of conversing with

the Queen, whom he urged to ratify the acts of the Lords of the Congregation. His mistress, Elizabeth, was evidently making common cause with them, and wished that Mary should understand that it was so. Mary answered that the reply made by her husband, King Francis, should have been a sufficient answer to Throckmorton, but that, since he had introduced the subject, she would tell him what moved her to reject the proceedings of the Lords who had met in Edinburgh. She then continued to speak in the following terms, which are here given as they are reported by the English Ambassador:—

"My subjects in Scotland" (quoth she) "do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed their part in any one thing that belongeth to them. I am their Queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful there, yet those few that be there of any party were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings by the laws of the realm,

which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all—to the King and me on such a legation. They have sent great personages to your Mistress. I am their Sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties." [1]

Throckmorton, as was his wont, attempted to vindicate the action of his friends by answering that Lord St John was a person of dignity, being Great Master of Scotland; to which Mary rejoined that she did not take him for such, he being married. After a few remarks of minor importance the meeting ended.

On November the 26th the Lord St John had his despatch from the Queen, with good words. In consequence of the young King's illness he could not give the promised interview to the Scottish Ambassador, who was yet in Paris when intelligence of the death of Francis reached him.[2]

The progress of our narrative carries us alternately into France and Scotland; the locality

[1] Cal., 716; Hardwick Papers, i. 125. [2] Cal., 738.

changes, and the subordinate agents change with it, but the leading characters are the same. Cecil is always at his post, always watchful and wary, always ready to fan into a flame the fears and prejudices of his mistress. The Lord James Stuart and the Earl of Arran are alike at his disposal; both are bidding for the crown of Scotland, and the English minister waits to see which of the two will offer the higher price. In France, the Huguenots, crushed for a time at Amboise, are preparing for another outbreak. It is to them and their doings that we now turn, and they will occupy us during the brief remainder of this chapter.

Upon the failure of the insurrection at Amboise, Throckmorton recommended that a proclamation calculated to stir up the hatred of the people against the Guises should be circulated throughout Normandy and Brittany by means of the English merchants who traded in these provinces. The hopes of the insurgents were excited by a report that the Earl of Arran might be expected to land in France at the head of a large force. Who was the mover

of these agitations? Suspicion from the first had pointed to the Prince of Condé; and not without reason. Proof that he had a guilty knowledge of the intended rising having been obtained by the crown lawyers, he was thrown into prison, and immediate steps were taken for his trial. The process was hurried on with indecent haste by the Cardinal of Guise, who saw in the death of Condé his own personal safety, the stability of his family, and the repose of France. But when it might be said that the axe was already suspended over the neck of the victim, a revolution occurred which changed the whole state of affairs. By the decease of the young King, which occurred at Orleans, 5th December 1560, Mary Stuart became a widow, and the crown of France ceased to be united with that of Scotland.

The death of Francis took the nation by surprise, and yet it could scarcely be called sudden. On 17th November he was prevented from leaving Orleans, as he had intended, by a slight attack of illness, to which no great importance was attached, but of which the symp-

toms gradually increased in intensity until they became alarming. A severe pain in the head followed by a discharge of purulent matter from one of the ears showed the existence of an imposthume upon the brain; joined with which he was attacked by a low fever. On the 29th his case was considered almost desperate; yet on 1st December the fever somewhat abated, and he rallied so far as to give hope of his recovery. But these favourable symptoms were of no long duration, "for the next night he fell again into his fit, which has ever since so increased upon him, together with the grief or imposthume in his head, that within forty-eight hours he became speechless, saving a soft, hollow, rattling speech. And on the sixth of this present, at eleven of the clock at night, he departed to God, leaving as heavy and dolorous a wife as of right she had good cause to be, who, by long watching with him during his sickness and painful diligence about him, and specially by the issue thereof, is not in best tune of her body, but without danger."[1]

[1] This information is derived from the letter of Throckmor-

From this moment the fortunes of Mary Stuart underwent a mighty revolution. Now, and for the first time in her life, she stood alone in the world. Hitherto there had been someone upon whom she could lean,—her mother, her father-in-law, her husband; now all of them were dead. The last blow was perhaps the heaviest. Francis had given her all that he had to give and all that she cared to possess, the undivided affection of a true and affectionate heart. Her position was one of danger as well as of isolation. Young and beautiful, full of spirit and of sentiment, conscious that she had a heart and yearning for sympathy, her road through life will be surrounded by many perils. Yet in the midst of all she has one grand element of success. She has the true faith; and this, joined with a pure heart and a strong will, will carry her in safety through all her sufferings, and enable her to overcome all her difficulties.

ton, who was at Orleans at the time of the King's death, which occurred 6th December 1560.

CHAPTER VII.

QUEEN MARY'S WIDOWHOOD IN FRANCE.

HAD the Princes of the House of Guise been the unscrupulous adventurers which they are sometimes represented to have been,—men without principle and conscience, greedy of power, and reckless as to the means by which to attain it,—they might have secured for themselves the crown of France at this eventful moment of its history. Every chance of success was on their side. The Duke of Guise was commander-in-chief, and the army would readily have obeyed any order which he might have been pleased to issue. It was

he who had defended Metz, and won Calais. The finances of the kingdom were in the hands of the Cardinal. The bishops, the whole body of the clergy, and the majority of the people looked upon the Guises as the protectors of the national faith. They were immensely popular; they had their adherents in every province, in every city, in every fortress. The leaders of the opposite party were now at last entirely in their power. Condé had been found guilty of high treason, and was awaiting the execution of his sentence. The King of Navarre had proved his incompetence, and was no longer either to be courted or dreaded. The heir to the throne was a boy of infirm health, and without mental energy. His mother, Catherine de Medicis, was a foreigner, who possessed no weight in the cabinet. The powerful assistance of the King of Spain, might be depended upon.[1] No other claimant to the throne could have reckoned upon advantages which would have outweighed such as these.

[1] So thought Throckmorton, 31st December. R. O. Foreign, 834.

Yet if any such considerations as these had ever passed before the mind of the Duke of Guise, he repelled the temptation. He accepted with dignified submission the change which the death of the late King had brought to him and his family, although it was sudden and humiliating.[1] The command of the army was taken from him, and the Cardinal was superseded in the management of the exchequer. The two brothers pass into obscurity, from which (as far as we are concerned) they will emerge only in as far as they are identified with the history of their niece. Mary Stuart now stands alone. The time has come when we must become acquainted with the woman as she is in herself, apart from the direction and the support which she has hitherto received from others. And here it is well to remember that our knowledge of her is formed chiefly upon the reports of enemies and

[1] When Throckmorton went to Court on 22d December, he found it very much altered. The King and the Queen Mother were surrounded by the Constable, the Admiral, the Cardinal Châtillon (who had married and became a Protestant), D'Andelot, and many more of that family. Not one of the House of Guise, and but few of their friends. R. O. Foreign, 832, sec. 5.

maligners, of whom the chief are Randolph and Throckmorton.[1]

At the date of the King's death Throckmorton was in attendance upon the Court at Orleans. He was a man who seldom indulged in pious reflections, but upon this occasion he gave way to an outburst of religious feelings when he contemplated the advantages which would result to England from the death of Francis the Second. It was a greater blessing than even the death of his father, King Henry, for it annihilated the power of the Guises, and transferred the government into the hands of the Protestant princes of the House of Bourbon. It was a juncture, he said, the like of which had never before occurred; and he urged his mistress to take advantage of it, for the making a "sure and large seat for herself and her posterity for

[1] Throckmorton's letters are of the highest value. He was generally well informed on the subjects about which he wrote, his facts therefore are for the most part trustworthy. Not so his inferences, still less his estimate of the motives which he assigns to the persons of whom he speaks. He thoroughly understood the peculiarities of Elizabeth's character, and his letters are written with the remembrance of that knowledge. In religion he called himself a Protestant, and in politics he was a Revolutionist.

ever to God's glory, and her own unspeakable fame."[1]

The satisfaction of the Calvinists in Scotland upon the death of Francis was extreme. Pious Randolph saw in it a great occasion to praise God for His benefits so unlooked for, in taking away so great a scourge, to the subjection of the whole state and nobility. Knox's coarse and violent expressions of delight need not be here repeated. The far-seeing Throckmorton next turned his thoughts to the young widow; and her husband had scarce ceased to breathe ere he was speculating upon her second marriage. The opinion which he had already formed of her intellect and general character deserves notice, for he was a keen observer, and had studied her closely during his long residence in France. "Hitherto," he says, "she had lived so entirely under the control of the Guises that her real capacity had not yet been recognised; but now when her widowhood compels her to think and act for herself, she begins to be better understood." He commends her general behaviour, her

[1] R. O. Foreign, 771.

wisdom and good sense "in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by sound counsel and wise men;" and he sums up his estimate of her with the remark that her future proceedings may possibly cause some anxiety to England.[1]

The widowed Mary now was made to understand the meaning of the remark, that a friend is known in the day of adversity. Within a fortnight from the date of her husband's death, Pope Pius the Fourth addressed to her a few words of fatherly consolation, simple, devout and affectionate. He exhorted her to submit, like a Christian woman, to the judgments of the All-wise, and to place all her hopes in Him who is the Father of mercy and the God of all consolation.[2] In contrast with this act of Christian sympathy we cannot but notice that, with her usual selfish disregard for the feelings of others, Elizabeth sent no condolence to the widow; and

[1] R. O. Foreign, 773, 833, sec. 4.

[2] In Archivio Secreto Vaticano, arm. xliv. tom. x. n. 396. See also Brevia Pii iv. vol. i. fol. 584; Raynaldi, A.D. 1560, sec. 83. The Holy Father also sent the Bishop of Fermo to condole with Mary, who had arrived upon this kindly mission before January 18, 1561. R. O. Foreign, 889.

Throckmorton was compelled to remonstrate with the English Court upon this remarkable neglect.[1]

We gather from the letters of the English ambassador some interesting notices about the young widow during this trying period of her history. From them we learn that immediately upon the death of her husband she changed her lodging and withdrew from all society. In compliance with the etiquette of the French Court, she became so solitary and exempt from all worldliness, that for forty days she saw no daylight.[2] During this period of her seclusion she admitted no man to come into her chamber but the King and his brethren, the King of Navarre, the old Constable Montmorency, and her uncles. A few days afterwards some bishops and a certain number of the elder knights of the Order had leave to enter, and lastly the ambassadors, all of whom came to condole with her, with the

[1] R. O. Foreign, 836.

[2] If Throckmorton is correct, Mary did more than the usage of the Court demanded. Daylight was excluded from the apartments of a widowed queen until the day of the funeral of her late husband, and no longer.

exception of Throckmorton. No letter expressive of the sympathy of his mistress having reached him, to present himself would have been at once an impropriety and an indecency.

The frequency and the length of the visits of the Spanish ambassadors soon began to attract notice, and it was whispered that a marriage with Don Carlos was not improbable. On the fortieth day after her husband's death, Mary left her seclusion, and was present at a solemn service of requiem celebrated for him in the church of the Grey Friars in Orleans. There were present on the occasion four cardinals and twenty knights of the Order, wearing their collars, and a goodly company of the Court. Shortly afterwards she removed to a residence at a short distance from Orleans, to her a city filled with many sad memories, and then she began to deliberate upon the affairs of her own kingdom, which for long had caused her great anxiety. Her chief adviser at this time was James Beton, Bishop of Glasgow, a wise counsellor and faithful friend. Acting doubtlessly under his advice, one of her first proceedings was to despatch to Scotland a

commission of four gentlemen, by whom the Estates were requested to stay further proceedings in religion until her return home; but shortly afterwards she thought fit to revoke this order, since it might appear to imply on her part a want of confidence in their loyalty. At the same time she wrote to the chief nobility severally and in kindly terms, among others to Lethington, Balnevis, and Grange, whom she knew to have been her chief enemies, and against whom she might have proceeded as traitors. Yet to them she promised the forgiveness of past offences. The Earl of Arran was treated with even greater forbearance, for "she used such words of kindness and good usage to his messenger, that it is not a little to be marvelled at." In her letter to the Estates, she told them that she threw herself upon their loyalty and affection. She was confident, she said, that their devotion to her would equal that which their ancestors had so frequently shown to hers; and she ended with the assurance, that for her part the memory of past kindnesses rendered by them and theirs to her family

and herself would entirely remove all impressions of a less agreeable nature.[1]

It was not until the 18th of February 1561 that the condolences of Elizabeth, such as they were (for they appear to have been of the curtest and coldest), reached the Queen of Scotland. They were presented by the Earl of Bedford, a strict Puritan, who took advantage of this interview to explain to her how she ought to behave herself. The letters of which he was the bearer express no sorrow for Mary's loss, no sympathy with her grief, no word of kindness or tenderness. Elizabeth instructs an independent sovereign how to govern her subjects. She advises her to allow them to be ruled by their own laws; rather by justice and love than by force and arms. Mary is here exhorted to be grateful for the part which Elizabeth had taken in expelling from Scotland the French troops, who had been sent thither by their Queen for the suppression of an open rebellion. These disorders in Scotland grew chiefly, Mary is informed, by reason of her marriage with the late French

[1] R. O. Foreign, 883, 889; Lab. i. 83.

King; and as that union had now come to an end, Mary is exhorted to trust herself for the future to the guidance of this affectionate instructor. She is asked to believe that all that Elizabeth had done in the affairs of Scotland was "to aid the wardens to reform such lewd outlaws, murderers, and thieves as have remained,"[1] forgetting that she herself had supplied these very same persons with men, money, and the aid of the most powerful fleet which England could supply. The whole despatch is remarkable as well for its arrogance as its unblushing falsehood; but such as it was, the Earl of Bedford had undertaken to fulfil his instructions, and he acted accordingly.

While the Earl was addressing Mary in these unwarrantable terms, she preserved her equanimity, and in reply she desired him to thank Elizabeth for her advice, adding that she had need of wise counsel, considering the state in which she stood. She, for her part, would use all good offices to move the Queen of England to think her an assured friend.

[1] R. O. Foreign, 898, 1030, sec. 19.

Finding her so docile, Throckmorton, who accompanied Bedford, now took up his parable. He produced the Treaty of Edinburgh, and he asked her to ratify it. To this request Mary demurred, and not without reason. She declined to do so, because (as she had already told him more than once) at this time she was without counsel, the Cardinal of Lorraine being absent. She remembered that Elizabeth herself had desired that in the transaction of business she should take the advice of the wise men of her realm, none of whom were near her at that time. However, she looked for them shortly, and then she would make the Queen such an answer as would satisfy her. When urged by Bedford to the same effect (for the two ambassadors took it by turns to argue with her), she again remarked that she was without counsel, and that the matter was great for one of her years. Once more Throckmorton spoke nearly in the same terms, remarking that the ratification had often been promised. To this she replied that she was not to be charged with anything that had been done in her late husband's lifetime, and that she

would be loath to do aught unadvisedly. But because it was "a great matter" she prayed him to give her respite until she should next have the opportunity of speaking with them.

This same Treaty of Edinburgh was indeed "a great matter," and the young Queen did well in declining to sign it with the indiscretion into which Elizabeth sought to betray her. The subject comes forward so often during the history of the Scottish Queens that a few remarks concerning it here become necessary.

The Treaty of Edinburgh[1] was intended to settle the terms upon which the two Queens were to stand for the future in regard to each other, as to their titles. It also settled some points respecting the Scottish insurgents. As to the former of these two questions, it recites that the realms of England and Ireland do by right appertain to Elizabeth; and it concludes that the King and Queen of France should, in all times coming, abstain from using and bearing the arms and titles of these kingdoms. This

[1] The original text is printed in Rymer, xv. 593, and an English abstract is given by Keith, i. 291.

article deprived Mary of all future pretensions to the crown of England, of which she was unquestionably the heir in the event of Elizabeth dying without lawful issue; and upon this consideration she now refused to ratify it.[1]

By another article in this Treaty the French Ambassadors had agreed that Francis and Mary should grant and accept certain petitions presented to them by the nobility and people of Scotland. What these petitions were is not here stated. To this article it was objected, that these petitions contained matter hostile to their rights as sovereigns; and that they were hostile to the true interests of the country. And further, Francis and Mary objected that in accepting such terms as these, not only had their ambassadors exceeded the powers with which they had been invested, but that in so doing they

[1] In so doing, Mary only acted upon what Cecil had already foreseen, when in writing to Elizabeth he had pointed out to her, that to shelter the Scottish insurgents, as she wished to do, would be "marvellous difficult, without such dishonour to the Prince (that is Queen Mary), as neither will be granted, nor can reasonably can be demanded for subjects." Cecil to Elizabeth, 21st June 1560. And this was the very thing which Throckmorton was now urging Mary to do. See Keith, i. 414.

had betrayed their trust. They maintained that the whole transaction was one which they were not only not bound to confirm, but against which they were bound to object as conservators of the liberties of the people, and the honour of the crown. Mary held the same opinions as Francis had held. And thus stood the contention between her and the English ambassadors at the time of which we are now writing. They urged her to confirm the Treaty of Edinburgh, being thereto pledged by the action of her ambassadors; and this she refused to do, because they had exceeded their powers, because she had the right of accepting or rejecting the terms specified, and because she considered them hostile to the rights of her crown and the liberties of her people.

The respite for which, as we have recently seen, Mary had pleaded, was of no long duration. On the following day the two English envoys again presented themselves, and again pressed her to confirm the obnoxious treaty. She answered them with composure, but did not leave the position which she had already

taken. Inasmuch, said she, as she had none of the nobles of her realm to take advice of, she dared not ratify the treaty; for if she did any act that might concern the realm without their advice, it was like that she would have them continue to be such subjects as they have heretofore been. But for all such matters as are past, she said that she had forgotten them, and at the Queen's advice had pardoned them, trusting to find her subjects better and more loving than they have been in times past. She asked the ambassadors to believe that she did not refuse to ratify the treaty, simply because she was not minded to do it; nor did she use these delays to shift off the matter. She wished them, she said, to assure their mistress that she is anxious to embrace her friendship, for she knows full well how much she needs it.

Thus ended a conference in which the parties were most unequally matched. On the one side were two diplomatists of matured years and long experience, who acted under the instructions of Cecil and the Privy Council of England. On the other side stood a girl of

eighteen, who was under the necessity of conducting her own case, and who did so; calmly and clearly replying to the arguments proposed, and maintaining her ground with a firmness of purpose which evinces great capacity as a sovereign, and equal address as a woman.

This interview produced a deep impression upon Throckmorton, who has left upon record the estimate which he had now formed of the general character of Mary Stuart. She evidently had a clear judgment and a firm will. He was persuaded that ere long she would take her place in the politics of Europe, and that, if left to pursue the bent of her own inclinations she would maintain the independence of Scotland. He saw the necessity for increased activity in furthering the agitation which Cecil had introduced into that realm, but which lacked the spirit with which it ought to be conducted. From the date of this remarkable conference, the despatches of Throckmorton to Elizabeth and Cecil grow more urgent, his action becomes more prompt and decided; and Mary's dangers and difficulties assume a more definite character.

Let us see how the English ambassador works upon the fears and jealousies of his mistress. He writes of Mary in these terms:—"During her husband's life," says he, "no great account was made of her, for that being under bond of marriage and subjection to him (who carried the burden and care of all her matters), there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death, she hath shewed (and so continueth) that she is of great wisdom for her years, and of equal modesty, and also of great judgment in the wise handling of herself and her matters; which, increasing with her years, cannot but turn greatly to her commendation, reputation, honour and great benefit of herself and her country. Already it appears that some such as made no great account of her do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her. Assuredly she carries herself so honourably, advisedly, and discreetly that one cannot but fear her progress." We may sum up our extracts from Throckmorton's despatches with the significant remark, which ought to be given in his own words.

"As far as I can learn she more esteemeth the continuance of her honour, and to marry one that can uphold her to be great, than she passeth to please her fancy by taking one that is accompanied with such small benefit or alliance, as thereby her estimation and fame is not increased."[1]

When Elizabeth read these words, they must have raised a blush on her cheek, and a pang in her heart. They had a double application,—one to the widowed Queen of Scotland, and another to herself, the unwedded Queen of England. At this time Elizabeth had made herself the scorn of every Court in Europe, by the levity of her conduct with a married man of low birth and loose morals—the ignoble Robert Dudley. She might learn a lesson from the conduct of the woman whom she affected to despise. Whatever Mary Stuart might do, her cousin of England certainly did not "esteem the continuance of her honour," for she had exposed it to contempt and ridicule wherever her name was mentioned. If the Queen of Scotland resolved "to marry one that may up-

[1] R. O. Foreign, 773, 833; MS. Harl., 6990, 2.

hold her to be great, rather than to please her fancy, by taking one that is accompanied with small benefit or alliance," the daughter of Anne Boleyn disregarded any such minor considerations. She consulted "her fancy" at the sacrifice of her good name. That fatal levity of conduct, that absence of feminine delicacy, which had left such a blot upon her character at an earlier period of her history, still haunted her even when the passions are supposed to be held in control by the matured judgment. While Elizabeth was alternately scolding and schooling the widowed Queen of France,—against the purity of whose conduct not a word could be uttered,—she was living in terms of suspicious familiarity with one of the least respectable of her own subjects. Scandal had grown so general, that Throckmorton considered it to be his duty to tell his mistress what the world thought of her. These reports were "very strange in all courts and countries," in the opinion of the Spanish ambassador. There were other things astir which were even more grievous for him to hear, as to the import of

which he leaves us to speculate.[1] With Cecil he is more explicit. He tells him that if their mistress foully forgets herself in her marriage as the bruit (report) runneth here (in France), he may never think to bring anything to pass either here or elsewhere. "I would you did hear," continues he, "the lamentation, the declamation, and the sundry affections which have course here for that matter."[2] At Madrid the scandal was no less busy. "I assure you, sir," says Challoner to Cecil, "these folks are broad-

[1] To accuse without proof is unjust, so I add the following confirmation of what I ventured to assert in the text:—

Writing to the Marquis of Northampton on 10th October 1560, Throckmorton wishes he were either dead or out of France, that he might not hear the dishonourable and naughty reports that are made of the Queen; not letting to speak of her and some others that "which every hair of my head stareth at, and my ears glow to hear." He was almost at his wits' end, and knew not what to say. "One laugheth at us, another threateneth, another revileth the Queen. Some let not to say, what religion is this that a subject can kill his wife, and the Prince not only bear withal but marry with him;—rehearsing the father and the grandfather. All the estimation the English had got is clean gone." Cal., 683; see also 685, in which Sir Nicolas is yet more earnest.

[2] R. O., 833, sec. 5. This document, sent by Cecil to Throckmorton, is thus endorsed by the latter: "A warning not to be too busy about the matters between the Queen and my Lord Robert, and about Ashley's trouble." See also Haynes, p. 212. Reports to the same effect were current in Paris, Brussels, and Lorraine. R. O., 4th April 1561; Cal., 88.

mouthed. There was never princess so overseen if she do not give order in that matter betimes." The contrast between the two Queens is remarkable. Mary is at Orleans sorrowing over the death of her young husband, and praying for the repose of his soul; while Elizabeth is at St James' receiving and returning the endearments of a wedded profligate.

However much admired and respected Mary may have been at this time in the French Court, one individual there entertained towards her feelings of intense hostility. Catherine of Medicis had long hated her in private, and now at last could show her hatred. The cause of this hostility is obscure. It has already been remarked that when Mary was a child, she was supposed to have offended the Italian by saying that at best she was but the daughter of a Florentine trader. Other writers ascribe her antipathy to her fear, that the charms of the young widow would win Charles the Ninth from the exclusive ascendency which his mother was anxious to retain over him. But whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that owing to

Catherine's dislike, which she took no pains to conceal, Mary determined to leave the Court and to spend some time with her own kindred in Lorraine. It was very natural that she should do so. Rheims was the ordinary residence of her uncle, the Cardinal-Archbishop of that diocese; there too resided her aunt Renée, Abbess of the Convent of St Pierre in the same city. She longed for quiet and rest, and she needed them after the agitation and fatigue through which she had passed of late; and the experience of her childhood told her that she would find them nowhere so perfectly as in a community of religious women. Besides, in undertaking this journey, she was but anticipating by a few weeks the visit which she would be required to pay to the Cathedral of Rheims, in order to assist at the coronation of her husband's successor.

Setting out, then, from the neighbourhood of Orleans, she reached Paris on 20th March 1561, where, "having stayed a day to look upon such robes and jewels as she had there, she took her

way straight towards Rheims.[1] She was accompanied by the Bishop of Glasgow, the Abbot of Dunfermline, and M. D'Oysel, who acted as her advisers. Throckmorton was unable to follow in her train,[2] and we regret his absence, for his gossip is always lively, and the information which we gather from his letters is of the highest value. From him we learn that she reached her destination on the 26th of the month. On her arrival she was received by her uncles, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Duke D'Aumale, the Marquis D'Elbœuf, and the old Duchess of Guise, her grandmother. Thither also had come out of the Low Countries, purposely to see her, the young Duchess of Arschot, who tarried but one night after her arrival.[3]

The presence of the Duchess of Arschot was the cause of deep anxiety to Catherine of

[1] Throckmorton to the Queen, 31st March. Cal., 77. See Robertson's Inventories of Queen Mary's Jewels. Preface, pp. xvi. xvii. text 7-17.

[2] See Cal., 61. He contrived, however, to send "a friend" to witness Mary's arrival at Rheims, to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of the facts which are reported by the ambassador himself.

[3] Id. Cal., 77.

Medicis, for she saw in that interview the first step in a political combination which, if carried into effect, would be fatal to one of her proposed arrangements. It pointed to a marriage between Mary Stuart and Don Carlos, son of Philip the Second, King of Spain. This union, if accomplished, would enable the Guises to recover much of their lost ascendency in France; therefore it was a thing to be thwarted at all costs. Moreover, it would strengthen the hands of the Catholics in England, a large and influential body of men, who looked to Philip as their natural protector. At this time Catherine was courting Elizabeth. She wrote and acted as if she had determined to join the party of the Reformation, and had induced the King of Navarre to believe that her son Charles the Ninth should be educated as a Protestant.[1] From these and other considerations she strained every nerve to prevent this contemplated coalition between Spain and Scotland, and she suc-

[1] Id., Cal., 832, sec. 7, and 1030, sec. 14. The Queen, however, resolutely denied this charge, both as affecting herself and her son. See her letter in Paulin Paris, p. 849.

ceeded. On 1st April she wrote to the Bishop of Limoges, her ambassador at Madrid, to let him know that the project was most distasteful to herself, and that she wished him to thwart it. "There is nothing," said she, "which I will not attempt, nothing which I will not hazard, rather than witness that which would be so disagreeable to myself personally, and so fraught with danger to this realm." In a subsequent letter she speaks, with an irritation which she does not care to conceal, about the long conferences of the Queen of Scotland and the Duchess of Arschot with the Cardinal of Guise.[1]

A matter of such vital importance to Elizabeth as an alliance between Scotland and Spain could not long escape the vigilance of Throckmorton. When first he heard it suggested as probable, he treated it as nothing better than one of the floating rumours of the day. But after an interview with James Stuart, Mary's base born brother, the English envoy thus unbosoms himself to Cecil:—"I have an inkling of a matter which maketh me greatly afraid,

[1] Cheruel, p. 20; P. Paris, 844, 863.

and if it prove true (as I begin greatly to fear it), it shall be needful that the Queen look well about her, and you (Cecil) and others of her faithful counsellors to give her sound and faithful counsel. This husband, I suspect, is the Prince of Spain, which, I am sure, will make you look about you if it prove true. There is working on all sides to bring it to pass." [1]

Shortly afterwards Sir Nicolas had a conference with another traitor, who spoke the same language and repeated the same warning. The marriage of the Queen of Scots was one of the three things about which the Admiral Coligny desired to confer with the English ambassador, as likely to hinder God's cause. He maintained that it was already so far advanced as that it would not be broken.[2] The clear-headed ambassador was of a different opinion. He thought the report incredible. A marriage between Spain and Scotland would not suit Philip's selfish policy, for it would not forward the grand scheme on which he was then intent. The rumour of a marriage with

[1] Cal., 133. [2] Id., 151.

Don John of Austria was current about the same time, and produced the like irritation and fear in every Court in Europe, but in none more than in England.[1] Everywhere there was suspicion, and that suspicion was everywhere prejudicial to the interests of Queen Mary.

Having kept her Lent, and celebrated her Easter at Rheims (the last which she spent in a Catholic country) upon Thursday, the 10th of April, Mary left that city upon her way to Joinville, a princely residence belonging to her uncle, the Duke of Guise. The Cardinal of Lorraine accompanied her. If she expected to find some repose in this remote corner of France, as she reasonably might, she was disappointed. While she was midway between Rheims and Joinville she was met by deputations from the two hostile camps into which Scotland had now become divided. Reformers and Catholics were alike anxious to plead their cause before their young sovereign, and with this object each of them had sent a deputation to wait upon her. In giving an account of these we yield the

[1] Id., 122.

priority to the Queen's half-brother, the Lord James Stuart, whose movements we can trace by the official correspondence fortunately preserved in the English archives.

Early in the year 1561 the Estates of Scotland met to deliberate as to the terms upon which they would permit their sovereign to return into her own country. Maitland, their apologist, reminds Cecil that "this time requires some vehemence," and of a truth the Estates showed no lack of that commodity.[1] They decided that they would send a deputation to question their sovereign whether she would be content to repose her whole confidence upon her subjects; in other words, whether she would permit them to rule for her. Although they had been in rebellion against her for some months, they decided that if she attempted to bring troops with her into Scotland—few or many—in that case they were not bound to receive her. It was a bold step, but these men

[1] "Let us walk in the day so long as the day lasteth (writes Maitland to Cecil); I see as yet no shrinking, and if the Queen's Majesty will go through with us, we will be bold enough." Haynes, p. 369.

were not acting unadvisedly. They decided that the question of her admission or rejection should be referred to the Queen of England, whose commands herein they would follow. What these commands were would be no secret; but in order that there should be scant room for doubt in a matter of so much consequence to them, the Lords of the Congregation decided that their plans should be submitted to Elizabeth by the Prior of St Andrews, Mary's half-brother, who would pass through London on his way to France. He would make her participant as well of what he had in charge as of what he himself minded to do. In the opinion of Maitland, the Lord James was the meetest in many respects to do this work, and we do not dispute his qualifications. He was zealous in religion, being one of the precise Protestants, and as Mary in her simplicity fully trusted him and loved him, he could "fully grope her mind," which he would then report to Cecil. It is a lamentable exhibition of meanness and treachery, but the parties understood each other. The Secretary of State in Scotland

and the Secretary of State in England were both in the pay of Elizabeth, and they made common cause against Mary Stuart. In this, and in various other transactions of a similar character, they were ably seconded by Mary's brother, Moray the Immaculate.

These arrangements having been completed, the Lord James left Edinburgh on his way to France. He set out in much state, being accompanied by several of the nobility, and having a retinue of about twenty horsemen. He carried with him letters from the Estates of Scotland to the English Privy Council, and he had reason to believe that he would have an interview with the Queen herself. All seemed to prosper with him; for when he left London he and the English ministry had come to terms, and thoroughly understood each other. Passing through the French capital, James Stuart went on to Rheims, and on the 15th of April he had his interview with his sister at the little town of St Dizier. When they met he professed himself all that a brother and a subject ought to be—affectionate, true-hearted

and loyal; and Mary believed him. That she did so need excite no surprise, for the trusting simplicity of her character is everywhere conspicuous. But that he should have imposed upon the Guises is a remarkable fact, and shows the skill in deception which he had already attained.

True to his instructions, Lord James dissuaded his sister from bringing any French troops with her into Scotland; and he pledged his word that she might safely trust herself to the loyalty of her faithful subjects. Next he assured her that she had been unnecessarily alarmed as to the safety of the Church. Scotland's allegiance to the Holy See was unshaken, but the country longed (and not without good cause) for the removal of certain abuses which were too prevalent among some of the higher clergy.[1] It would seem that Mary so far expressed no opinion as to the truth or untruth of these statements; and her brother was encouraged to proceed. He begged her to make a grant to him of the Earldom of Moray, and this she refused to do, qualifying, however, her refusal by adding that

[1] See Conn, in Jebb, ii. 19.

she would consider his request on her return.[1] His next proposal was fraught with yet greater danger. He advised her to consult the quiet of her realm by entrusting him with the government of it during her absence. She had the unwisdom to consent; and as the official document which should invest him with the necessary powers would probably require some days for its preparation, he left behind him one of his attendants to receive and convey to him the completed instrument. As they conversed, the widow opened her heart to her brother. She needed sympathy, and he cheated her into the belief that he felt it for her. And this great artist cheated wiser heads than Mary's. Her uncles, the Guises, permitted him to "grope" many of their feelings and intentions, and these he turned to their disadvantage on the first fitting opportunity. Having accomplished the objects of his visit to his satisfaction, he reached Paris on the 23d of April 1561, where he remained a few days in the hope of receiving from his sister the commission which would appoint him Regent of Scotland.[2]

[1] Leslie, p. 228. [2] See Throckmorton to Cecil, 9th April 1561.

During this interval the Lord James was not idle. On the evening of the day on which he arrived in Paris, he visited the English ambassador, to whom he retailed all the information which he had managed to gather from Queen Mary, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and their attendants. He had picked up news upon a variety of subjects—some trifling, some important. For instance, Mary had told him that she was resolved not to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh; that she was not glad to see the kindness which had grown up of late between England and Scotland; that she would never marry the Earl of Arran, but would win the consent of her realm to marry some foreign prince; that she is indifferent as to the amity of France; and that she did not incline to the suit of the King of Denmark. This makebate was careful to report to the English ambassador that his sister and her uncle, the Cardinal, had spoken, not in the most respectful terms about Elizabeth's religion, and had laughingly commented upon the presence of the cross and candles in her Protestant chapel. The Lord James knew full

well that all these scraps of information, reported by him with more or less accuracy, would be forwarded by Throckmorton to the Queen of England, who, however, was assured that she would receive a more detailed account of them from the Lord James himself when he passed through London.

This unblushing treachery, this splendid meanness, delighted the English ambassador. At last he had found the man of whom his mistress had so long been in search. She had known other traitors, and had used them for a time, and then cast them aside as imperfect and therefore worthless. There are villains whose villainy will carry them a certain length, but who, retaining something of man's primitive dignity, scorn to play the part of the spy and the eavesdropper. Not so the Lord James; he was haunted by no such silly scruples. He was ready for any crime, however great or however little. Elizabeth understood him and loved him, for she recognised in him a kindred spirit to her own. We shall hear more of "the good Regent," "the spotless Moray," "the servant of God," as he has been ignorantly

and irreverently styled; and we shall find him consistent in his fraud, his cowardice, and his treachery. For the present we see him not only as Elizabeth's agent and the tool of Cecil, but as the especial favourite of Throckmorton. A few days previously he could not decide whether the Earl of Arran or James Stuart should be the future ruler in Scotland under Elizabeth. Now his doubts are ended, and he tells us why, in the following estimate of his Lordship's character. "It is a great matter at this time," says he, "to find a man of his credit in his country to be so faithful and sincere as he is. I find in him wit enough for his years, much honour and great fidelity. It is a good turn that so direct a man as he is hath the credit and love at home that he hath. I do well perceive him to be a very honourable, sincere and godly gentleman, and very much affected to your Majesty, upon whom you never bestowed a better turn than on him, in my opinion." [1]

[1] Throckmorton recommends that his favourite should be taken into the Queen's pay. R. O. Cal., 151, sec. 24. At a later period he writes to the same effect, yet more plainly, and proposes that Moray should be well entertained and made of by the Queen, as

Knavery, however, sometimes has its disappointments, and the knavery of the Lord James was doomed at this point to sustain a temporary reverse. We have seen that he had asked his sister to confer upon him the government of the kingdom during her absence, and that in the blindness of her affection she had consented to do so. When he bade her farewell, he left behind him one of his attendants to receive for him the precious document when it should be ready. The servant arrived in Paris, but he brought no commission. The Queen of Scotland had reversed her intention. What had occasioned a change of purpose so sudden and so decisive?

While the Republican Lords in Edinburgh were wrangling among themselves as to the terms upon which they would permit their lawful sovereign to set her foot upon the soil of

" one that may stand her in no small stead. Throckmorton believed that the Lord James, after his return to Scotland, would deal as frankly with him as he had done while he was in Paris. But he advises that the Queen should now in time liberally and honourably consider him with some good means, to make him the more beholden to her. Cal., 158; see also Cal., 159, 167, 168, being letters to the same effect addressed to the Queen, the Privy Council and Cecil. What could Mary Stuart do against such a combination as this?

her own kingdom, her loyal subjects were not idle. A large and influential meeting was held, in which it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to the Queen, for the purpose of expressing their devoted affection, and offering for her consideration certain proposals of great importance. For this purpose they selected as their agent the celebrated John Leslie, at that time Official of Aberdeen, afterwards Bishop of Ross. Leslie overtook Mary on her road from Rheims to Joinville on the 14th of April, and thus anticipated by one day the arrival of Lord James Stuart.

The instructions with which Leslie was charged related chiefly to the following subjects. He entreated Mary to be on her guard against certain plausible mis-statements by which the opposite party would attempt to mislead her. They would dissuade her from bringing troops with her into Scotland, and would urge her to entrust her brother with the supreme government of the realm during her absence. Let her beware of both of these proposals, for they were directed to accomplish two objects; the overthrow of the

Catholic religion in Scotland, and the transference of the crown from her own head to that of her brother.

Leslie then laid before her two suggestions, which he earnestly begged her to adopt. The first was, to cause the Lord James to be arrested and detained in France until she should have taken quiet possession of her kingdom.[1] If she thought this step too decided, then he recommended as an alternative measure that she should disembark, not at Leith, but at Aberdeen. Leith was too near Edinburgh, which was well known to be the centre of the revolutionary movement. At Aberdeen she would find herself in the midst of brave and loyal subjects. Her presence would confirm them in their allegiance, would secure the waverers, and would curb the growing insolence of the sectaries. To all in Scotland her return would be as welcome as the return of the golden sunshine after the dreary winter; but to none more than to her Catholic

[1] Conn (Jebb. ii. 19) states that when Leslie suggested the detention of Moray, if she should think this too decided a measure, then Moray should be sent as her ambassador into Italy or Spain. But would he have gone?

subjects in the north. Here Leslie referred more especially to the great Earl of Huntly, whose name he was authorised to mention, and who, he said, had sent one of his own kinsmen named Cullen (a gallant soldier both on land and sea) to arrange with her the details of her homeward voyage. Cullen would land her safely at Aberdeen, where the nobles of the county would meet her, and twenty thousand of her loyal subjects would be ready, with her at their head, to march to Edinburgh.

Leslie does not tell us as precisely as we could wish the reply which Mary Stuart gave to these bold suggestions; but his silence and her own subsequent line of action show us that she did not accept them. Huntly's wavering and suspicious conduct at this time, which must have been known to Mary's advisers, probably explains her hesitation.[1] Neither party could trust him, for he hung midway between the two. But the Queen asked Leslie to remain with her as long

[1] Randolph writing to Cecil on 20th March, and Throckmorton just a month later, speak of Huntly as if his sincerity to Mary were questionable. Cal., 56, and 125.

as she should continue in France; and in the meantime to send thanks in her name to those Scottish bishops and nobles whom he represented. Although he does not appear to have been aware of the fact, it would seem that his advice saved her from the commission of what would have been a gigantic blunder.[1] Had she been captured by the English fleet—and the Lord James did his best to betray her into the hands of Elizabeth on her homeward voyage—then the commission which he expected to obtain from her would have been produced, and Mary's own written authority would have placed this traitor on the throne of Scotland. But, as we have seen, the project failed, though only for a time, and he ultimately gained his end by means no less base than those in which we here have detected him. In the meantime let us bear him company during his journey from France to Scotland.

[1] The author of "L'Innocence de Mme Marie" (1572) tells us that the plausible manners and professions of devotion of the Lord James to the Queen of Scotland so far imposed upon the Duke D'Aumale, that he urged her to make the grant here referred to. See Jebb, i. 447.

We have seen that Lord James lingered in Paris until the 4th of May. His original intention was to have crossed over from Dieppe to Rye, at that time a harbour of importance, but he saw reason to prefer the route from Boulogne to Dover. His stay in London must have been of some duration, during which he had at least one interview with the Queen.[1] He told her privately, as we learn from Camden,[2] that if she had any regard either for the interests of religion or her own safety, she ought to intercept his sister during her homeward voyage. The advice was not forgotten, and if the attempt to seize Queen Mary failed, she was not indebted to her escape to any want of vigilance on the part either of her good brother the Lord James or her good sister the Queen of England.

It is pleasant to be at last able to escape from such bad company and to join the Court of the young widow on her journey towards the coast

[1] He was in London on 20th May, and had reached Edinburgh by 3d June. Cal., 271.

[2] Hist. Elizabeth, p. 57, edit. 1625.

for her embarkation. After having spent a few days at Joinville along with the Dowager-Duchess of Guise, she set out for Nancy,[1] accompanied by the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Duke D'Aumale, the Earls of Bothwell and Eglinton, and several others of the Scottish nobility. We learn from Throckmorton that one of the chief objects of this excursion was that she might assist at the baptism of a son of M. de Vaudemont.[2] At her entry into Nancy she was received with every mark of distinction by the Dowager of Lorraine, and by the Duke and Duchess. While there she was attacked by a sharp fit of ague (or "fever tierce," as it is called by Leslie),[3] for the cure of which her grandmother, Antoinette of Guise, removed her once more to the quiet seclusion and the fresh air of Joinville. She was at Rheims about the end of May, where she was entertained by her uncle, the Cardinal Archbishop

[1] She was at Nancy 22d April, Cal., 130, 131, on 25th May she was still at Joinville, and on the 28th she had arrived at Rheims. Cal., 214 ; Lab. i. 95.

[2] Nicolas de Lorraine, Count de Vaudemont, whom Throckmorton calls uncle to the Duke of Lorraine. See No. 732, May 23, 1559.

[3] Leslie, p. 296.

of that diocese, and there she had the satisfaction of spending a few days with her maternal aunt, the Abbess of the Convent of St Pierre. On the 10th of June she reached Paris. At her coming, says the faithful chronicler of her movements, the English ambassador, she was met a league without the town by the Duke of Orleans, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, all the princes of the blood, and most part of the nobility. The French King and the Queen Mother received her as she came within the walls of the city, and accompanied her to her lodgings.

CHAPTER VIII.

QUEEN MARY'S DEPARTURE FROM FRANCE.

WE proceed with our account of the incidents connected with the history of Queen Mary Stuart, which occurred within the short period which intervened between her arrival in Paris and her departure from Calais.

When she reached Paris, Throckmorton was in that city. He allowed her a week's rest after the fatigue and excitement of her journey, and, on the 18th of June 1561, he waited upon her by appointment, and once more urged her to sign the Treaty of Edinburgh. The conversation which passed between them on this occasion is recorded by the ambassador, from

whose letter to Queen Elizabeth, his mistress, we gather the following particulars. They give us an insight into some of the principles upon which Mary formed her subsequent conduct.

To the request for the ratification of this obnoxious treaty, Mary repeated the objections which she had advanced more than once already. She would not act without the advice of her Council in Scotland. She would send M. D'Oysel with her reasons for delay; who at the same time would ask of her good sister these favours which are usually granted by princes on occasions such as might possibly arise during her voyage into Scotland. In the spirit of conciliation she added, that she intended to remove all French troops from her dominions, so as to leave nothing undone to satisfy all parties. She trusted that Throckmorton's kind mistress would do the like, and that from henceforth none of the disobedient subjects of Scotland would find favour in England.

Throckmorton had the prudence to avoid the discussion of such a dangerous question, and he dexterously escaped from it by replying that

Mary could give no better proof of the sincerity of this desire for amity than by ratifying the treaty. She had asked him to wait until she had heard the advice of the Estates; she forgets that the whole arrangement had been made by their consent. The Queen remarked in reply, that the treaty had indeed been made with the consent of some of the Estates, but not of all; and she had yet to learn whether even these who had approved of it at first still remained in the same opinion. She trusted that Elizabeth would not encourage any of her subjects to continue in their disobedience, or to meddle with things not appertaining to subjects. There was no reason, added she, why subjects should give a law to their sovereign, especially in matters of religion. The ambassador skilfully changed the ground, by retorting that as she thought it unmeet for her to be constrained by her subjects, so it was unfitting for them to be constrained by her in matters of conscience. Her answer was prompt; "God," said she, "had commanded subjects to be obedient to their princes;" to which Throckmorton as promptly

rejoined, "In those things which are not against His commandments." "Well," said she, "I will be plain with you, and tell you what I would all the world should think of me. The religion that I profess I take to be most acceptable to God; and, indeed, neither do I know, nor desire to know, any other. Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better than princes, and such as have rule over realms, and especially in matters of religion. And who might credit me in anything, if I should show myself light in this case? Though I am young and not greatly learned, yet I have heard this matter disputed by my uncle, my Lord Cardinal, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter, and I found therein no great reason to change mine opinion."

Throckmorton had here nothing more apposite to remark, than that she ought to be conversant with the Holy Scriptures; that perhaps she was partial in her judgment, and that the Cardinal himself had granted that great errors and abuses had crept into the Church. She admitted that she had oftentime heard her

uncle say the like. Throckmorton hoped that there would be a unity of religion throughout Christendom. She, too, hoped it would be so, but said that she was not one of those who would change their religion every year. She did not mean to constrain any of her subjects, but trusted that they would have no support at Elizabeth's hands if they thought to constrain her. And thus, after the interchange of a few kindly sentences, this remarkable conversation ended. It is remarkable, not so much for the estimate which it enables us to form of Mary's tact, judgment, and acuteness,—for that she possessed these qualities we have already had sufficient proof;—but because, not only does it give us an insight into the principles which she had already laid down for herself individually, but also informs us as to those by which she proposed to direct the government of Scotland so long as it should remain under her control. We read Throckmorton's report of this conference with mingled admiration, surprise, and pity. The future career of this woman begins to make itself visible. Mary's theory of mutual toleration was

doomed to be a failure from the beginning. Even if it might have suited a different age and a different country, here at least it was out of place; for the Scotland which could admire Knox and submit to the dictation of Elizabeth was not the home for Mary Stuart.

Before closing his letter Sir Nicolas remarks that though Mary had told him that she intended to sail from Calais, he had been given to understand that her plan was "to take shipping from Nantes,[1] and thus passing by the west seas to land at Dumbarton, as it were by stealth, for that it was put into her head not to trust herself too much on the coast of England." Thus early had vague surmises of treachery reached her; and it was for the removal of these that she sent M. D'Oysel to the English Court to ask for letters of safe-conduct, so as to secure

[1] Mary was deterred from taking this route by the hostile attitude of the Duke of Châtelherault and the Earl of Argyll, who were very powerful on the Western Coast. Cal., 337. It seemed to the Spanish ambassador that the design of the Queen of England was to keep her fleet in the north, and thus to compel Mary to sail westward, so that she would be driven to take the course where the force of the Earl of Arran lies. Teulet, ii. 6; Cal., 337, note.

an unmolested passage from France into Scotland.

That such a request should be preferred by one sovereign to another, appears to us in our day an act of unnecessary precaution or of obsolete ceremonial. England was at peace with France and Scotland, and the Channel was open to the shipping of both of these powers. Why, then, should Mary fear that in her voyage from Calais to Leith she might be intercepted by English cruisers? She had not forgotten the lesson which the history of her own family had taught her. When James Stuart, the first of that name, was crossing from Scotland into France, he was seized by an English vessel,—during a period of truce,—and a captivity of twenty years gave him leisure to repent of his misplaced confidence. What had happened then might happen again; and it was wise to ascertain Elizabeth's sentiments on the matter before running such a hazard, especially after the warnings which had reached her from more than one quarter.

For this purpose D'Oysel was despatched to

London. He did not anticipate a refusal to Mary's request. He carried with him letters from Throckmorton to Cecil, which advised that every facility should be afforded for the return of the Queen of Scotland. "Her going home," said he, "is the thing that we ought most to desire, for then the greatest part of our Queen's care that way is carried."[1]

When the French envoy presented his credentials to Elizabeth, and asked for the usual safe-conduct for his mistress, he met with a reception which surprised him not a little. Upon the plea that the Treaty of Edinburgh had not yet been ratified, the letters of protection were refused. The Queen's manner, voice, and language exhibited considerable irritation, and she evidently spoke with the intention that what she said should be overheard by the nobles of the Court. With scant courtesy she refused permission to D'Oysel to continue his journey by land into Scotland, and she advised him to return to his mistress and let her know the issue of his mission.[2]

[1] Cal., 280.

[2] Mary herself has given an account of what passed upon the

This intemperate conduct on the part of the Queen of England was disapproved by her most devoted friends, as well in France as in Scotland.[1] But they did not understand its full meaning, nor were they aware that it was essential to the success of the plan which she was now prepared to carry out. She believed that by thus acting she could bring Mary within her grasp. If Mary should now venture to embark without a safe-conduct, she did it at her peril. Elizabeth had given her due warning of what possibly might befal her, and if she neglected the caution, and evil came of it, she had no one to blame but herself. Mary was not ignorant of the danger which she was about to incur. She could scarce expect to escape the cruisers which she knew would be upon the watch, and to which every mile of the narrow seas from Calais to Leith was familiar. Once within the power of "her good

occasion. She informed her nobles that the Queen of England not only refused passage to M. D'Oysel, and to give the safe-conduct which he had requested for his mistress, but also made open declaration that she would not suffer her to come home. Maitland to Cecil, Aug. 15, 1561. Cal., 402.

[2] For Throckmorton's comments upon the affair, see Cal., 337.

sister," a long captivity or a forced surrender of her rights awaited her. But she did not know the full extent of the treason by which she was surrounded. She did not know that her enforced deposition was already contemplated; and that her base-born brother would assume the provisional government under Elizabeth, and would pay the price by obediently accepting any such terms as she, the feudal superior of Scotland, might be pleased to dictate. Thus by one bold stroke a double victory would be gained; the triumph of the religious principles of the Reformation, and the establishment of the temporal supremacy of Elizabeth over her northern rival.

It was Throckmorton's duty to report to Mary the decision at which his mistress had arrived, and also the reasons upon which she had acted. The interview occurred at St Germain on the 20th of July, and the ambassador has left us an interesting and full account of what took place upon the occasion.

He began by stating that in what the Queen of England had done she had been moved by

the consideration that Mary had not yet ratified the Treaty of Edinburgh. If she would do this, not only should she have free passage but a gracious reception, in case she should land upon the English coast. At this point of the conference Mary seated herself, and asked Throckmorton to do the like. Next, she commanded all the courtiers to retire further off, remarking that she did not know the extent of her own infirmity, nor how far she might be transported by passion, to which she liked not to have as many witnesses as his mistress had gathered round her when she talked with M. D'Oysel. Nothing grieved her more, she said, than that she had so far forgotten herself as to require of Elizabeth a favour which she needed not to have asked. She might pass well enough home to her own realm without the Queen's licence. King Henry used all the impeachment he could to stay and catch her when she came into France, yet she crossed over in safety; and now she might have as good means to help her home if she would employ the services of those friends who cared for her

welfare. She would rather have enjoyed the amity of the Queen of England than that of all her other allies; and yet she had many such, both in France and elsewhere, who would be glad to supply forces to aid her. Throckmorton had often told her that amity between Scotland and England was very necessary to both; but she has reason to think that his mistress is no longer of that mind, for if she were she would not have acted thus unkindly. The Queen of England makes more account of the amity of Mary's disobedient subjects than of their sovereign; and she seems to think that because Mary's subjects have done her wrong her friends will desert her also. The result of all this has been that Elizabeth has given her cause to seek friendship where otherwise she did not mind to ask it.

Mary then asked the English Ambassador to let his mistress consider how strange it would be thought among all princes that she, the Queen of England, should be the first to animate the subjects of Scotland against their own sove-

reign; and that she now hinders her, a widow, from going into her own country. She has asked nothing but Elizabeth's friendship. She does not trouble the state of England, she does not practise with the subjects of England; and yet she knows that in that realm there are those who are inclined enough to hear offers, and who are not of their sovereign's mind, either in religion or other things. The Queen, his mistress, has said that she, Mary, is young and lacks experience; yet she has age and experience enough to use herself towards her friends and kinsfolk in a friendly and upright manner. She trusts that her discretion will not so far fail her that in her passion she will use other language than that which becomes a queen. She is Elizabeth's equal, and an equal respect ought to be observed on both sides. So much for feelings and friendship; Mary next discusses matters of business.

In regard to the Treaty, continued Mary, it was made in her husband's time, by whom she was governed; and for the delays used then she ought not to be charged. Since his death her

interest in the realm of France has failed, and she is no longer directed in her affairs by its council. Her uncles, being of that realm, did not think meet to advise her, and her own subjects think that she shall be guided by her own council. His mistress has said that she is young; she might say that she is foolish as well as young if she proceeded in such a matter without counsel. What was done by her late husband must not be taken for her own personal act; nor in honour or conscience was she bound to do all that the late King Francis had ordered. She then begged Throckmorton to inform her distinctly what she had done to offend his mistress.

To this direct appeal the ambassador's only answer was, that she ought to ratify the Treaty. She again desired to know how this strange feeling against her on the part of his mistress had arisen, to the intent that she might reform herself, if in any point she had failed in her duty. Throckmorton reminded her that she had given cause of offence by quartering the arms of England with her own, and had used the style

and title of England.[1] Mary answered that she was at that time under the command of King Henry and her husband; and that since their death, she had not borne either the arms or the style of England.

In a subsequent conversation upon the same day, she said that if her preparations were not already so far advanced, peradventure the unkindness of Elizabeth might have stayed her voyage, but now she had determined to adventure the matter, whatever came of it. She trusted that the wind would be so favourable that she need not come on the coast of England; for that if she did, then the Queen would have her in her hands to do her will with her, and if she were so hard-hearted as to desire her end, she might then do her pleasure and make sacrifice of her. "Peradventure," added she, "that casualty might be better for me than to live. In this

[1] The arguments in explanation of Queen Mary's conduct in regard to this well-worn accusation are carefully summed up in L'Innocence de la royne d'Eccose, in Jebb, i. 546.

Camden (Elizab., p. 56) remarks that precedents for a similar use of the royal arms of England had been afforded by Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, and the Duchess of Suffolk.

matter," quoth she, "God's will be done." And so the said Queen embraced him, and they parted.[1]

One more conference between Queen Mary and the English Ambassador took place before she embarked. They met at Abbeville on the 7th of August 1561. On that occasion Mary's first question was as to the origin of Elizabeth's unkindness towards her, whom, as she assured him, she was anxious to conciliate. The unvarying reply was that the Treaty of Edinburgh remained unsigned. The ground so familiar to the readers of these pages was travelled over once more; the same arguments and answers, the same objections and solutions. In the course of the conversation Mary used these words:—"I assure you, whatsoever is thought, there is none of my uncles, nor none other here that will (I know not for what respect) give me their advice in this matter; but they do advise me to use the advice of my own subjects. You know I am young and do lack experience to proceed in so great a matter without advice. I do so

[1] Cal., 336. Camden states most distinctly that Moray had advised that his sister should be intercepted on her homeward voyage. Elizab., p. 57.

much know mine own infirmity that I will do nothing (though it be of less weight than this is) without counsel."[1]

After a few days spent at Calais, Mary embarked there on Friday, 14th August 1561. She was accompanied to the side of the vessel by the Dukes of Guise and Nemours, and on the voyage by her three uncles, Claude, Duke D'Aumale, Francis, Grand Prior of France, and René, Marquis D'Elbœuf, together with a large

[1] MS. Cott. Calig. E., x. 94. Mary's journey to the coast would seem to have been thus arranged. Leaving St Germain on Friday, 25th July, she bid adieu to the Royal Family on Monday 28th at Méru, on the road to Beauvais, in the magnificent cathedral of which city she probably heard Mass on Sunday, 3d August. If she accomplished her intended visit to the convent of Fécamp (Cal., 304), it must have been between the 3d August and the 8th, for on that latter day (Friday) she reached Abbeville, had her interview with Throckmorton, and left it on Friday the 8th. The next day was spent at a Benedictine Abbey called Forest Moutier, on the road to Montreuil-sur-Mer, and probably Sunday, 10th. She was in Calais on Wednesday 13th August, and embarked on the following day, when one of Throckmorton's servants saw her "haling out of that haven about noon with two galleys and two great ships." Cal. 421. These galleys are described by one who saw them on the 16th August off Flamborough Head. "One of the galleys, being the greater, was all white, the other (coloured red) was well trimmed and appointed. She wore a white flag with the arms of France, and in her stern another white flag glistening like silver." Cal., 416, 419, 421.

retinue of the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland and France, among whom were the Earl of Bothwell; Leslie, the future Bishop of Ross; Brantôme, Castelnau de Mauvissière, and the miserable Châtelard. In her retinue was a person of whose real character she was ignorant. Charles O'Connor, after having been engaged for nine years in the household of Mary of Guise, had gone into France along with D'Oysel, had presented himself to Throckmorton, and offered to play the traitor, or in more polite language, "he promised to travail in Elizabeth's service."[1] His offer was gladly accepted by the English ambassador, who saw in O'Connor a useful instrument for his purposes. He advised this serving man "to throw himself into the train of the Queen, both to the coast and by sea into Scotland."[2] His acquaintance with her dead mother was a sufficient recommendation, and this traitor took shipping with her as a spy upon her actions. He was furnished with a letter of introduction to Cecil, which would have secured him from danger in the event of

[1] Cal., Dec. 31, 1560, n. 832. [2] Cal., 345.

the royal galley falling into the power of the English cruisers. That this would be the case was generally anticipated in the Court of London, for Elizabeth's intentions were no secret.

Mary wished that her parting with the English ambassador should be in kindness. During her brief stay in Calais, she found leisure to write a few friendly lines to Lady Throckmorton, who at that time was in France; and along with her letter she sent a remembrance of her affection and a token of the regard in which she held Sir Nicolas, notwithstanding their frequent discussions about the obnoxious Treaty of Edinburgh. The gift consisted of two basins, two ewers, two salts and a standing cup, all of silver gilt. The manner in which this present was received is curious. The messenger who presented it to Lady Throckmorton "used further many curteous words on the said Queen's behalf," and then departed. He had no speech with Throckmorton, who pleaded sickness, although he himself had fixed the hour for the presentation.[1]

[1] The plate weighed 398 ounces, which at a moderate estimate

Brantôme, who accompanied Mary into Scotland, has left us some interesting particulars about the voyage. He tells us that as her galley was leaving Calais, she was compelled to witness the sinking of a vessel close to the port, the entire crew of which perished in her sight. He also is our authority for the details, so well known, of her spending the night on deck, in order that with the return of daylight, she might catch one more look at the home of her affections. The same writer tells us, that she had an inborn horror of cruelty, and was easily touched by human suffering, as was proved by her intercession with her uncle, the Grand Prior, for the better treatment of the miserable slaves, who were chained to the oars of the Royal Galley. From Brantôme also we gather our information about that wonderful fog, under covert of which she escaped the armed cruisers which Elizabeth

might be reckoned at about £150 sterling. Throckmorton's avarice tempted him to accept the gift; his dread of the jealousy of his mistress prevented a word of the most ordinary thanks. The English ambassador saved his dignity by taking to his bed. A pretty picture, and admirably illustrative of the two sides of the same historical medal.

had sent out to capture her while on the high seas.[1]

If it be asked upon what authority rests this grave charge, the charge namely of attempting to intercept the Scottish Queen on her homeward voyage, we may quote in the first place the authority of Elizabeth herself. In her intemperate reply to M. D'Oysel, she said that she would provide to keep Mary, and the threat was uttered in the hearing of numerous bystanders. Friend and foe agreed in blaming Elizabeth for this refusal of the safe-conduct to Mary, and for having insulted her envoy. In the opinion of the Spanish ambassador, the denial of the passport was equivalent to a declaration of war.[2] The Queen Mother of France (who certainly did not love her widowed daughter-in-law) said that she and her son regretted to hear of this refusal, as it might be the occasion of further unkindness, and so prove an entry into war. She thought that

[1] Leslie, Camden, and Buchanan all mention the unusual darkness of the weather during Mary's voyage.

[2] Teulet, ii. 6 ; Cal., 337, note.

Mary had acted discreetly, in declining to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, without having previously obtained the sanction of her advisers.[1] Not a single Court in Europe approved of the course which Elizabeth had taken. Such of her own councillors as could venture to be candid spoke the same language. Throckmorton told Cecil that it would have been better if the passage had been granted. But since the threat has been uttered, continued he, it would be well to make sure preparation. Cecil should take heed that we do not brag, but speak in good earnest. If they mean to catch the Queen of Scotland, their ships must search and see all, for she means rather to steal away than to pass with force.[2] So notorious had Elizabeth's threat become, that Maitland, in writing to Cecil, mentions it upon the authority of one of Mary's own letters.[3] The injustice of the act did not shock Maitland, but he was annoyed with the clumsy blunder into which Elizabeth's evil temper had betrayed her. She had shown her

[1] Cal., 336. [2] Cal., 337. [3] Cal., 402.

teeth, but had not used them. If the galleys are to pass quietly, the safe-conduct should have been granted; if not, "she should have keep close. To what purpose should they open their pack, and sell none of their wares, or declare themselves enemies to those they cannot offend? It passes my dull capacity (writes the crafty Secretary) to imagine what this sudden enterprise should mean."[1]

With a startling disregard of veracity, Elizabeth tried to escape from the effects of her indiscretion by trying to persuade Mary that the armed vessels about which there had been so much talk were only "two or three small barks upon the seas to apprehend certain pirates." To colour this device the English admiral became suddenly inquisitive about all cases of piracy of which at this juncture any tidings could be obtained; although shortly before and shortly afterwards similar occurrences seem to have excited very little attention. But the proofs were too strong and the conviction too general to be

[1] Cal., 402. See the translation of a portion of one of his letters to the same effect in Camden, p. 57.

silenced by such transparent subterfuges; and the Queen of England remains convicted of having planned a crime which was defeated because she herself betrayed it by her petulant temper and virulent tongue.

One more opportunity is afforded us of observing the spirit in which the passage of these French vessels was regarded by the English Government. The Earl of Rutland, President of the Council in the North, informs Cecil (in a letter which he took the trouble to write at four o'clock in the morning),[1] that on the previous afternoon certain ships and galleys had passed off Bridlington. It is thought (added he) that they will draw to the shore, which if they do and arrive, "I have given such order as I nothing doubt ye shall hear good news of their stay."[2]

[1] A letter written on the following day by the Earl leaves no doubt that these ships were Mary's little navy. Cal., 416, 419.

[2] Cal., 455, 472. Peter Heylyn, Prebendary of Westminster, a zealous member of the Church of England, gives the following candid summary of the whole transaction:—"It was thought (by the English Government) to intercept Mary, if they could, in her passage into Scotland. And to that end a squadron of ships was sent to sea; but under colour of suppressing some pirates by whom the trade of merchandise was given out to be hindered.

All these precautions notwithstanding, and doubtless many others of which we know nothing, Queen Mary Stuart accomplished her hazardous voyage in safety; and on the morning of Wednesday, the 19th of August, she once more set her foot upon the soil of Scotland.

But the taking of one of the Scottish ships, with the Earl of Eglinton and other passengers of that nation, who were making homewards, declared sufficiently that they looked for a far richer prize. But for the Queen of Scots herself, by reason of a thick fog which hung over the seas, she passed by the English unperceived, and landed at the port of Leith." Hist. of the Reformation, ii. 152, ed. 1661.

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